

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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*Secret Police
Fabricate
Khrushchev
Memoirs*

HOOVER

INSTITUTION

Labor Must Mount Offensive As

NIXON ANNOUNCES PLAN TO SLASH WAGES



Farinas Addresses 800 Youth--Trial Begins Dec. 10

**NEW YORK: 500 CITY WORKERS • MARITIME: 720 JOBS
PHILADELPHIA: 3,000 CITY WORKERS**

Fight Mass Layoff Wave With Strike Action

U.S. Renews N. Vietnam Bombing As Kremlin Aids Imperialism

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The Sontay Raid is just the beginning. American imperialism has now embarked on a new and extended chapter in its imperialist aggression against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia.

The stubborn resistance of the NLF as well as the recent successes of the Pathet Lao in Laos and the Cambodian workers and peasants combined with the deep demoralization of the American army has forced Nixon in desperation into new aggression against North Vietnam.

It is clear that the United States has unilaterally redefined the terms of the agreement to cease the bombing of the North and bombing has been permanently resumed. The Sontay prison camp business is just a cover for this.

First it was said that current bombings in the North were a retaliation for North Vietnamese attacks on unarmed reconnaissance planes. Then it was stated that these planes were not actually attacked but that they had been "fixed" by North Vietnamese radar installations at missile sites. Supposedly the North Vietnamese are to turn off their radar when American planes approach. Later it is revealed that more recent attacks were in response to North Vietnamese fixes on American planes flying on missions over Laos. Again, not only is there no excuse for American aggression in Laos but it is not even claimed that North Vietnamese rockets were actually fired on American planes over Laos.

RAID

Then we have the "ill fated" raid on a prisoner of war camp. Laird has stated that accompanying the raid there were a number of bombings as well as missile strikes at North Vietnamese missile sites. Some of these were only admitted to by Laird after Fulbright accused Laird of hiding the information in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

This raises the question as to whether the raid was really "ill fated." Could it be that rather than the missile strikes being a cover for the raid the raid was an excuse for the missile strikes and other aggressive acts deep within North Vietnamese territory? If this is the case it is even possible that the Pentagon went ahead with the plan knowing full well that the camp had been evacuated.

What does come through is that the actual military meaning of the recent bombings and missile strikes has been two-fold. Above all the target has been supply dumps for the liberation forces particularly in Laos and Cambodia but in

South Vietnam as well. Related to this has been attacks on missile sites which have been increasingly effective against American planes.

These latter attacks are obviously preparatory to new bombings. Their purpose is to protect ahead of time massive American bombing raids on the North.

DETERIORATION

Behind these new attacks stands a deterioration of the American position particularly in Laos and Cambodia. South Vietnam has been relatively quiet over the last few months with a relatively low casualty rate. But this is only because the United States has gone out of its way not to engage the NLF. It has been forced to do this because opposition is so strong inside the American Army to the war that much of the American Army is no longer effective in combat.

What was once said about the South Vietnamese Army is now more and more true about the American Army without any appreciable political betterment in the South Vietnamese Army. Under these conditions the actual position of the U.S. in the South is deteriorating and it is becoming more and more clear that Nixon's so-called Vietnamization policy is a failure.

Much of the United States' frustration is due to the adamant determination of the masses in Southeast Asia not to capitulate and thus the relatively strong stand the NLF, North Vietnamese and Chinese have been taking. At the same time the United States feels emboldened into its new military adventures in the North because of the whole counterrevolutionary policy of the Kremlin and East European bureaucracies.

Making fast deals with West Germany, openly aiding the United States and Israel in forcing a betrayal of the Palestinians in the Middle East, we can assume that the United States resumes bombings of the North because it is assured covertly at least of the inaction of the Kremlin.

We must sharpen our political attack on the Stalinists while at the same time taking up the struggle against the war in the trade unions and in the army itself. The only way the United States will get out of Southeast Asia will be because it is forced out by the combined class action of the working class of Southeast Asia with the working class in the United States and within the United States Army.

EDITORIAL

Labor Must Open Offensive Against Nixon's Attacks

The Nixon Administration's second "inflation alert" means a sharp stepping up of the attack on the working class. The government in Washington along with the city and state governments all across the country is launching a drive aimed at slashing the wages of American workers. At the same time every effort is being made to boost profits through increased productivity.

The unions are the chief target of the attack by Nixon and his liberal supporters who have been pressing most strongly for an "incomes policy." Nixon openly attacks the wage increases won by the trade unions—singling out the auto, railroad, construction and transit workers—as the cause of inflation.

Slash

"The failure of the average rate of wages to slow down" is cited as the reason for inflation. This is combined with an attack on the principle of cost of living escalators and all attempts by the unions to protect themselves against inflation.

Nixon's program is clear. Every resource of the Federal government is to be mobilized in order to further slash the workers' standard of living with the open threat of direct intervention ranging from the setting up of wage control councils to compulsory arbitration laws, to strike breaking by National Guard and Federal troops.

The upcoming negotiations of the United Steelworkers in four different industries next year are at the center of the attack. When Nixon calls the General Motors settlement "inflationary," he is putting the Steelworkers on notice that they have to settle for even less than the miserable agreement on wages and conditions that Woodcock was able to force on the GM workers.

Steelworkers' President I. W. Abel, under tremendous pressure from the militant rank and file, has been forced to call for the re-institution of the cost of living escalator, a "very substantial wage increase" and the four day week as the 1971 bargaining goals.

March

Nixon and the bosses fear that the ranks of the USW will demand that the leadership carry out a real struggle for these goals. They fear that the workers will not peacefully submit to wage freezing.

The program of Nixon and the capitalists is to make the working class pay the price for the crisis of the capitalist economy in which the workers are caught in a vice between rampant inflation and climbing unemployment.

Teamster leader Harold Gibbons recently stated that labor "cannot take this growing cancer of unemployment," and calls for the labor movement to take the lead in organizing the unemployed.

The labor movement must take forward Gibbon's call by organizing a mass march on Washington of unemployed workers and the entire trade union movement. The answer to Nixon is to bring millions of workers to Washington to demand unemployment compensation at full rate of pay for the full period of unemployment, the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay and the building of a labor party which will gain the support of the entire working class.

directly related to Mitchell. The new ruling strengthens the defense because it implies that Calley's actions must be judged within the overall general situation at My Lai, thus paving the way for exonerating Calley of any responsibility.

Those who have testified have stated unequivocally that Calley ordered and carried out the massacre. Paul Meadlo, a rifleman in Calley's company stated that Calley ordered him to "take care of" a group of men, women and children who had been rounded up. He ordered them to be pushed into a ditch and "pushed some of them in and shot them as they fell." The prosecutor's statement said that someone yelled "A child is getting away" and Calley picked up the child threw it in the ditch and shot it. Another witness, Allan Boyce, confirms this story.

SLAUGHTER

These statements reveal the stark reality of the Vietnam war, that behind the official propaganda of a war to defend freedom is the wholesale slaughter of a population that can only be compared to the crimes of the Nazis in World War II. In fact, Calley's lawyer is not even

trying to say that Calley did not shoot the civilians. His defense is based on the contention that Calley was carrying out orders, that they were in a free fire zone where one may shoot anything that moves even though no one in My Lai was shooting at Calley's men. In other words, in imperialist war, anything goes.

CRIMINALS

We say that Calley does not represent the average G.I. On the contrary, every day more and more G.I.'s refuse to have anything to do with the war. What Mitchell's lawyer and the Army are afraid of is becoming a reality. As a black G.I. said in Germany: "How can you fight for America when every day you read about black people being killed in the U.S.?" This is the real situation in the Army that the brass and Nixon can do nothing to stop.

The trial of a few soldiers, sick and dehumanized as they are will not change anything. The real criminals, Nixon and Company, must be thrown out by the united fight of the working class and the rank and file G.I.'s.

Calley Trial Whitewashes My Lai Murder

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On Nov. 20 Sergeant David Mitchell was acquitted of charges of participating in the murder of unarmed civilians in the My Lai 4 hamlet during the Song My massacre on March 16, 1968. This acquittal will now be used as the basis for acquitting Lieutenant Calley who is now on trial.

This is no trial of a few individuals for a single crime. As Mitchell's lawyer, Ossie Brown said in an emotional summation of his defense: "I don't like to see the prosecution of any young man sent to fight for his country. I don't like what is happening in this country and that's why I'm here. Some elements are trying to undermine and destroy the military of this country. They'd love to gut the military because when you gut the military you destroy a country. We have a great country and we cannot let its ideals fall by the wayside."

While virtually no evidence supported the contention that Mitchell was involved in the slayings this is not even the issue for the defense. What Brown is saying is that the integrity of the Army is on



Calley consults with his lawyer at trial.

trial and regardless of what bloody crimes were committed by any of the defendants, including Calley, they must be freed in order to preserve faith in U.S. imperialism's war in Vietnam. This is why all the right wing and racist forces are lining up behind Calley.

STRENGTHENS

This approach was further bolstered by a ruling of presiding judge Kennedy in Calley's trial that "any witness can personally testify to what he saw or did anytime in My Lai village." This is exactly the opposite of the ruling of the judge in Mitchell's trial who restricted testimony to only those incidents which

Ranks Demand City Rescind Layoffs

BY A SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Mayor Lindsay's layoffs of 500 city workers whose jobs were terminated on December 4 is the most vicious attack on the city labor movement since the Depression.

These layoffs are a declaration of war and they must be answered now with an offensive by city labor. These 500 workers are now jobless. If Lindsay is allowed to carry through with this it will open the door to thousands and thousands of more workers being thrown out of their jobs and onto the welfare rolls. If Lindsay sees that the labor movement is prepared to take this attack, he will carry through with his threats of payless paydays and wage cuts for firemen, sanitationmen, and District Council 37 members in their upcoming contracts.

The city labor movement must demand that these layoffs be rescinded immediately. If Lindsay thinks he can do without 500 workers, let him try to do without 300,000.

The SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership is fighting to mobilize the ranks to demand that Victor Gotbaum, head of DC37, call a District Council strike on December 15 if all the layoffs are not rescinded by that date. The ranks must also demand that Harry Van Arsdale and the heads of all other city civil service unions join in this strike.

This is the only way to defeat Lindsay and the employers. Let there be no

doubt about it—they are prepared to carry out their threats to wipe out any and every job in the interests of their economy drive.

DEFEAT

Ralph Gross, president of New York's Commerce and Industry Association, a spokesman for big business, has called upon Lindsay to get tough and pursue his layoff policy while Timothy Costello, Deputy Mayor, has joined the chorus of those screaming for human sacrifice in the form of the livelihood of thousands of workers. With the height of arrogance Lindsay says he will take a cut of \$1,000 in his \$50,000 dollar salary while 500 workers are thrown to the welfare rolls.

GOTBAUM

Victor Gotbaum, who blustered so militantly on television two weeks ago, has meanwhile concluded a pact with Lindsay. He has attempted to suppress the militancy of the ranks while covering the deal with a phoney shunting of the layoff victims to Howard Samuels' Off Track Betting Commission. It was labor-hating millionaire liberal Samuels who two years ago suggested the use of troops against New York's



Vic Gotbaum (left) sings "Solidarity Forever" with Lindsay in period of elections.

striking sanitation workers.

These offers, since there are now over 1,500 applicants for the Commission's vacancies, are a sop which holds out no guarantee of equivalent work or money

to those laid off but puts Gotbaum's seal of approval on a precedent which spells doom to all city employees.

At the same time Gotbaum has attempted to justify his betrayal by saying the layoffs just affect "provisional" workers. This position is completely reactionary and plays right into Lindsay's hands. There are over 18,000 so-called "provisional" workers. These workers have as much right to their jobs as anyone else and they must be defended by the entire labor movement.

When delegates from SSEU-371, supported by delegates from clerical Local 1509, put forward a motion demanding a strike action at the Nov. 24 DC 37 delegates' assembly, Gotbaum openly opposed any action to protect the jobs.

This bureaucratic treachery threatens every worker at a time when a city-wide mobilization of labor against the lay offs could place every union on the offensive for the 1971 contract fight ahead.

City labor has the power to stop Lindsay. A victory in the fight against the lay offs will be the first step to victory in the 1971 contract struggle. The ranks of city labor must join with the SSEU-371 CNL to demand:

STRIKE ACTION BY DISTRICT COUNCIL 37 AND ALL CIVIL SERVICE UNIONS, A COMPLETE SHUTDOWN OF ALL CITY SERVICES IF THE LAY OFFS ARE NOT RESCINDED BY NOV. 15.

Unions Threaten To Shutdown Philadelphia

BY JACK ARNOLD

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 30—Union leaders of District 33, State, County and Municipal Employees Union threatened here to "shut down the city" if Mayor Tate and the city administration go ahead with their plans to lay off 3,000 city workers.

The threat to shut down the city came from Earl Stout, head of the sanitation workers union. The sanitationmen were victorious in their slow-down action last February when the city appointed a police inspector as streets commissioner in a first move toward disciplining city workers. Correctly interpreting this action on the part of the Mayor, the sanitation workers continued their slowdown until the police inspector was removed from this position.

The present threat of strike action is a reflection of the militancy of the sanitation and streets department workers themselves who based on their earlier victory have every confidence in the strength of their union and their own willingness to fight.

This threat to "shut down the city" was further strengthened by the statement of acting head of District Council 33, Martin Devlin, who threatened to pull out all 13,000 city workers. Devlin said, "We're going to proceed as originally planned. We took a vote a couple of months ago that if they lay off any union members we would strike the place. Nothing has changed since then."

On Friday City Managing Director Corleto, acting under the Mayor's directions ordered department heads to prepare lay-off notices which are to be sent out Tuesday. The layoffs are to be effective Dec. 15, just 10 days before Christmas. This Christmas present from the Democratic mayor elected with the help of the

District 33 leadership, as they have previously proudly proclaimed, promises to hit at least 20% of the city's non-uniformed work force.

In particular it will mean the layoff of 354 men in the streets department in addition to the 96 men already lost as a result of a job freeze. The department normally employs 4,066 men. Even harder hit would be the health department which would end up losing close to 25% of its staff as the combined result of the job freeze and layoffs.

LEAD

While the leaders of District 33 threaten to strike, the ranks must make sure this threat is carried through.

This action by city workers in Philadelphia can give a lead not only to all workers in the city but throughout the country as the government and employers seek to solve their economic crisis off the backs of the workers through unemployment and wage cuts.

Ship Layups Slash 720 More Jobs In Maritime

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, November 30—The NMU National Office, spear-headed by Port Agent Labaczewski, violated all rules of internal democracy at the port meeting here while silencing opposition to the latest wave of ship layups and job loss to face the union.

Hundreds of NMU members attended the meeting, which was preceded by Grace Lines' announcement that it was laying up the Santa Rosa, the Santa Paula, and four "M" class freight-passenger liners, adding 720 more to the 12,000 men and women forced out of the industry in the past year. In addition, United States Lines announced on Nov. 25 that it was leasing its 16 new NMU-crewed container-ships to SIU-manned Sea-Land for twenty years, taking hundreds more jobs away from the NMU.

The Workers League distributed a leaflet at the meeting calling for an increase in the manning scales and nationalization of the industry under workers' control. The leaflet demanded that passenger ships be taken out of layup and that the NMU strike to win its demands. Both the Committee for NMU Democracy and the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus handed out leaflets calling for a strike and nationalization.

CURRAN

According to one militant, the Curran bureaucracy passed out its own leaflet denouncing the "Revolutionary Socialist Workers" for "distributing a leaflet calling for nationalization of ships. This is in line with standard Marxist doctrine. The group had a similar demand in a September leaflet concerning the other

laidup ships."

The port meeting opened with reports given by Port Agent Labaczewski and a union vice president. The reports combined vague promises of action about the ship layups with redbaiting attacks against the opposition. According to one union member:

"The vice president's report proposed expelling the opposition for wrecking the union. He said that certain elements were trying to destroy the union, but we were never told why we have lost over 3,000 jobs with the laying up of six passenger ships. The companies have sold dozens of freighters, and are selling them every day, and even the ships that are now in operation are doing so with cut down crews. Not a single thing has been done to stop the slide, nothing! Job action is the only thing that can stop the slide. Now we are being told that job action would be unnecessary. . .

"This is the first time I have ever heard a union official say that job action will have no effect. He says that there is no point in going to Washington or taking any strike action against the ships, because it will amount to absolutely nothing. We've always known that the labor unions' only recourse is job action. Now we're being told it would be of no effect, that they have to sit down in peaceful discussion and come to some agreement but it's useless to go to Washington or to strike

the ships."

BAMBOOZLE

The National Office proposed that the NMU tops meet with other maritime union officials in Washington on December 8, and seek for support from other unions. The rank and file can place no confidence in this kind of arrangement by the NMU bureaucrats. As one sympathizer for the Committee for NMU Democracy stated after the meeting:

"We came to the meeting prepared. We had resolutions calling for a strike on the ships if these companies don't take out the ships. If they tie up the ships, we should tie up the entire fleet. The National Office is trying to bamboozle us into thinking they're going to do something, and they expect to have meetings, but in reality they're going to have one of those old-fashioned meetings, whereby they will get together and sell us down the river. . . Everyone knows they are not interested in protecting the jobs, but they're only interested in carrying out their sellouts."

The meeting was adjourned with no discussion and no motions allowed. The opposition now must take this struggle to a new level, on board the ships, and prepare for the next port meetings nationwide. Curran obviously plans to lull the membership as he has before, with his talk of maritime union solidarity, while he prepares the axe for hundreds of rank and filers and especially the militants.

JOBS

The layups of the six Grace Line ships, along with the sale of the 16 United States Lines containerships to Sea-Land, makes

it clear that a great new wave of monopolization is sweeping the maritime industry. The largest lines are moving to divide up world and U.S. trade among their fleets of containerships, eliminating competition wherever possible.

The U.S. Lines sale will leave Sea-Land with a virtual monopoly on East Coast-West Coast U.S. trade. All this lays the basis for "reconstructing" the industry with the help of Nixon's Maritime Act on the basis of fast, new containerships, a few huge monopolies, and a vast reduction in the number of seamen.

In fact, at least 12,000 more seamen will lose their jobs in the next few years. Curran in his redbaiting attacks and refusal to do anything is only preparing the way inside the union for this situation.

The only way to defend NMU jobs is to force back the owners and the government with an increase in the manning scales and nationalization of the industry, without payment to the owners, and under maritime union control.

PROGRAM

The rank and file must start to fight back. The membership must be mobilized around a program to:

- Take the passenger ships out of layup.
- Put two crews on every freight and passenger ship, each crew to get a year's pay for sailing six months, with six months leave in the year.
- Raise all deepsea and inland waters wages to the level of Local 333, tugboats, which won a 40% wage increase in their strike this year.
- Call an official NMU strike to win these demands.

Nixon, Black Nationalists Break Up Panther Meeting

BY LOU BELKIN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Black Panther Party held its constitutional convention here over the weekend of Nov. 27-28. Although the convention was marred by organizational difficulties, thousands of youth attended.

Initially, the convention was to be held at Howard University. During the period surrounding the Cambodian invasion, Howard University president, Dr. James Cheek, proclaimed "solidarity with all people of color fighting for freedom." He once again reiterated his desire to see the "oppressed American blacks" reap their just rewards.

Yet he refused to allow the BPP to hold the convention at Howard, saying that the Panthers were "ill advised to put up posters declaring Howard to be the convention site." He had set a figure of \$7,377.98 as payment for the renting of the university facilities. At first the Panthers said that such a sum of money was difficult to raise. Cheek set Tuesday, Nov. 24 as the deadline date for payment. On Tuesday the BPP sent \$1,000 to Dr. Cheek, but he flatly turned down the offer. Ralph Brown, Acting Director of Public Relations for Howard under orders from Cheek, announced that "legal restrictions prevented Howard from permitting off campus organizations to use the school free."

NIXON

It is now clear that "legal restrictions" meant that Cheek was acting under orders from Nixon himself, in refusing the Panthers the facility. The strategy was for the BPP to hold a rally in the streets, or in one of the local churches and for disorder to break loose and for the Wash-

away from the narrow approach of nationalism.

The Workers League contingent successfully intervened by selling more than 400 copies of the Bulletin, and over 50 copies of the pamphlet "Black Nationalism and Marxist Theory."

ATTACK

What the Washington Conference revealed is that it is precisely at this time when the Panthers are under attack in city after city, at a time when they have called for a break with nationalism and talked of the need for socialism and Marxism, that all their "allies in the community" scamper the other way.

The New York Times on Monday, Nov. 30 gloated over what it termed the "complete flop" of the Panthers' Washington Convention. For the Times the success of the Philadelphia conference and the defeat of the Washington meeting lay in the fact that Washington is 75% black, all of whom have a "basically middle-class outlook." According to the Times:

"The problems of the Panthers here highlighted the internal philosophical struggle going on in the nation's black community. That struggle pits integrationists and liberationists, such as the Panthers, against black nationalists and pan-Africanists, including some black intellectuals and the Black Muslims...."

"The ideological differences are deep. While many blacks, especially the intellectuals have turned inward and called for the development of the black community by blacks, the Panthers have allied themselves with white radical organizations."

LINES

What is disturbing to the Times, and this is why they gloat over the Washington conference, is the Panthers' attack on black nationalism, its call for the unity of blacks and whites against the "ruling class," its call for socialism and internationalism.

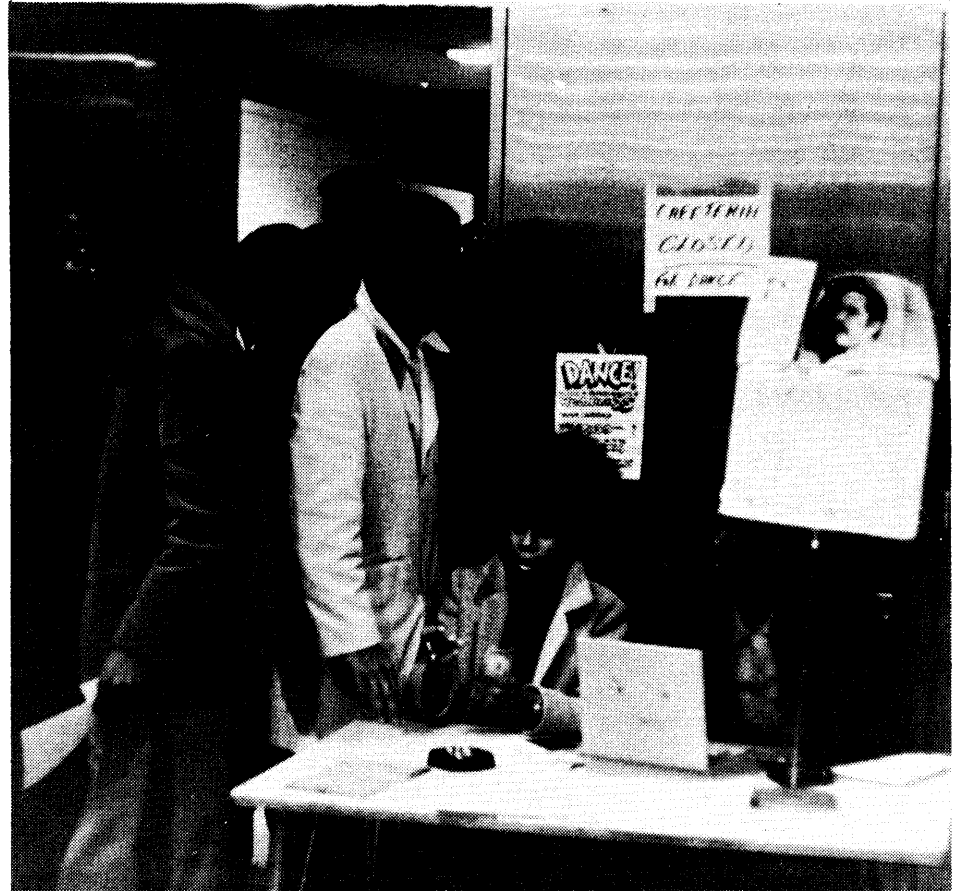
While we would have to expect such a position from the Times, a very similar attack has been opened up by Derrick Morrison in the Militant, organ of the Socialist Workers Party. Like the Times the SWP takes up the Panthers for moving away from the struggle for black control in black communities. The Times' statement only further exposes the class nature of the SWP's position.

Class lines were drawn in Washington. Dr. Cheek, a spokesman for black capitalism, really was doing the bidding for Nixon. This is the whole logic of black nationalism and its community control schemes whose purpose is to contain the struggles of the blacks within the confines of reformism and capitalism.

These nationalists and their revisionist supporters are lining up with Nixon in the attack.

While everything was done to stop the Panthers from having their conference the government is going full speed ahead with its legal lynching of Bobby Seale and Erica Huggins in New Haven. The witch-hunt against militants and the working class movement was stepped up with J. Edgar Hoover's talk in appeals for new funds of the Panthers' "international" conspiracy and the conspiracy by anti-war activists to kidnap a White House official. The FBI's Most Wanted List is now composed over half of radicals. The New York Police Department has announced consolidation of its forces in order to deal with militants.

There can be only one side in this struggle. The repression against militants and radicals is aimed at breaking the offensive of the working class. This is why the labor and working class movements must come to the full defense of the Panthers and all militants and throw this attack back at Nixon and his henchmen.



Youth pour in to dance at New York City Community College given to aid Juan Farinas.

800 Attend Dance For Farinas Case Goes To Trial On Dec. 10

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The campaign for Juan Farinas' defense was boosted tremendously last week by a dance held at the New York City Community College and co-sponsored by the campus clubs of the Workers League, Black Unity and Latin Alliance.

The dance was a great success. Over 800 youth attended the dance and over \$700 was raised for Farinas' defense.

Farinas is the young trade unionist who goes to trial December 10 on five frame-up charges of violating the Selective Service Act, and faces up to 25 years in jail and a \$10,000 fine on each count.

Farinas goes to trial Thursday, December 10 in the United States Courthouse at Foley Square (near Chambers Street) in Manhattan. A mass demonstration has been scheduled to take place outside the courthouse on that day from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. in the afternoon. We are calling

Helena Farinas Will Make National Tour

STOP PRESS-- Juan Farinas has been denied permission by the Court to leave the State of New York. In his stead his wife Helena Farinas will be making a national tour to build support on the eve of the trial. Helena Farinas will be at the NPAC Conference in Chicago December 5-6. December 6-8 she will tour the Bay Area.

You will be able to hear Helena Farinas at the following meetings:

Sunday, Dec. 6, 8:30 PM, social of the United Action Caucus of the UAW

Monday, Dec. 7, 10 AM, La Raza House, 960 Guerrero, S.F. 12 Noon, San Francisco State College 7:30 PM, San Jose State College

Tuesday, Dec. 8, 7 PM, W House, 2700 Bancroft, Berkeley

for all supporters and sponsors of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, all readers and supporters of the Bulletin, all members of the Spanish-speaking and black communities and all trade unionists and young people opposed to this open political attack to come down to this demonstration.

This attack must and will be beaten. This is the most effective and concrete way that you can demonstrate to the United States government that the current witch-hunt against youth, minority groups and workers will not be tolerated. It is crucial that you take time to join us December 10 at Foley Square and help in the fight to win this case.

If you are interested in working more closely with the defense committee in these last crucial weeks, the address is Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 6th floor, 135 W. 14th St., NYC 10011, and the telephone number is (212) 924-0852.

New sponsors for the Farinas Defense Committee include: Sam Pollock, President, District Union 427, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America; Elvis Swan, International Representative, RWDSU (AFL-CIO); Timothy Craine, New Haven Federation of Teachers, Local 933; Jeff Miller, Socialist Reconstruction, Minneapolis Branch.



Panther Elbert Howard speaks at rally.

ington Tactical Force to move in. Cheek had previously allowed religious and civic groups to use the facility, and had recently opened the college to businesses seeking black recruits for private industry. Cheek and other so-called leaders of the "black community" in Washington, including the mayor, saw to it that a massive concentration of cops, plainclothesmen and FBI agents ringed St. Stephens Church, All Soul's Church, and Malcolm Park.

The convention was held out of doors, on the streets, and maintained an orderly tone throughout. Huey Newton reaffirmed on the last night of the convention once again the need for socialism and "intercommunalism" and the necessity to turn

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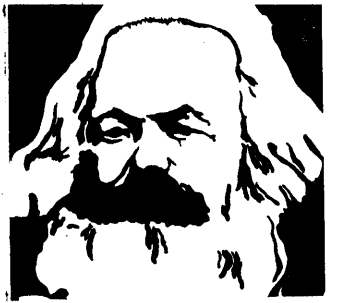
**DEFEND
JUAN
FARINAS**

**DEMONSTRATE AT
U.S. Courthouse
Foley Square**

9a.m. to 1p.m.

DECEMBER 10

MARXISM & AMERICAN PRAGMATISM



A Series of Lectures by
Tim Wohlforth

THE QUESTION OF philosophy is essentially a question of the party. It follows that every great struggle within the party has its roots in a break with the Marxist method and an adaptation to the method of the bourgeoisie. This adaptation takes the form in the United States of pragmatism.

It was this philosophical question which lay at the heart of Trotsky's last great struggle conducted in the last year of his life—his struggle against the revisionist tendency which had grown up inside the Socialist Workers Party. But before we turn to this struggle we must place it within its historical, social and intellectual context.

Trotskyism was born in a struggle against the degeneration of the Soviet Union and as a result of this the destruction of the Communist International as a revolutionary instrument. Stalinism both grew out of and contributed to the defeats of the working class in that period. It was a period characterized by the deepest decay of capitalism, the sharpest class struggles, and the collapse of the working class leadership. There simply was not enough time to overcome the disorientation of the working class brought about by the growth of Stalinism.

REACTION

Particularly in the latter half of the 1930s, bourgeois reaction took advantage of the prostration of the working class to gain the upper hand despite its own crisis and to lay the basis for a new capitalist development through the barbarous growth of fascism and war. The late 1930s was dominated by the growth of fascism in Europe, the pending catastrophe of a new world war, and the most barbarous conduct of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the form of the Moscow Trials and the assassination of Trotsky's family and then Trotsky himself.

This was indeed a difficult climate to develop a new Marxist cadre, to see a new flowering of Marxist theory, and to develop mass revolutionary parties. Here is how Trotsky pictured the situation some months before the struggle broke out in the SWP:

"We are a small boat in a tremendous current. There are five or ten boats and one goes down and we say it was due to bad helmsmanship. But that was not the reason—it was because the current was too strong. It is the most general explanation and we should never forget this explanation in order not to become pessimistic—we, the vanguard of the vanguard. There are courageous elements who do not like to swim with the current—it is their character. Then there are intelligent elements of bad character who were never disciplined, who always looked for a more radical or more independent tendency and found our tendency, but all of them are more or less outsiders from the general current of the workers movement. Their value inevitably has its negative side. He who swims against the current is not

connected with the masses. Also, the social composition of every revolutionary movement in the beginning is not of workers. It is the intellectuals, semi-intellectuals or workers connected with the intellectuals who are dissatisfied with the existing organizations... We are all very critical toward the social composition of our organization and we must change, but we must understand that this social composition did not fall from heaven, but was determined by the objective situation and by our historic mission in this period."(1)

Thus Trotsky noted the extremely difficult conditions under which the revolutionary party had to be constructed. There were, as Trotsky pointed out, good objective conditions for the great difficulties the Trotskyist movement was experiencing. He pointed this out not to excuse revisionism but as a sharp warning to the

close to Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement. He never, however, was a party man and refused to subordinate himself to the discipline of a party. Moreover, he held for years a hostility to dialectics and supported this position from a pragmatic point of view. In this he was joined by Sidney Hook. Hook as early as 1935 stated:

HOOK

"To hold that the logic we know is invariant for all possible existence is to utter a proposition which we cannot test for the very meaning of 'all possible existence' depends upon what we discover actuality to be."(3)

With this scepticism about logic he denied that logic was based in the natural material world. From this he concluded that while dialectics was the "algebra of revolution"(4) it had no relevance to the

tism and against the dialectic precisely in a period when the very foundations of capitalism were being undermined and therefore the material basis for pragmatism itself. Thus they fought for pragmatism at a time when it was possible to break not only intellectuals but lay the basis for the breaking of the masses of the working class from pragmatic and empirical ways of thinking and bring them to a revolutionary outlook. Trotsky wrote:

"Empiric thinking, limited to the solution of immediate tasks from time to time, seemed adequate enough in labor as well as bourgeois circles as long as Marx's law of value did everybody's thinking. But today that very law is in irreconcilable contradiction with itself. Instead of urging economy forward it undermines its foundations. Conciliatory eclectic thinking, with its philosophic apogee, pragmatism, become utterly inadequate, while an unfavorable or disdainful attitude toward Marxism as a 'dogma'—is increasingly insubstantial, reactionary and downright funny. On the contrary, it is the traditional ideas of 'Americanism' that have become lifeless, petrified 'dogma,' giving rise to nothing but errors and confusion."(6)

This may on the surface seem contradictory to Trotsky's remarks about swimming against the stream. But both statements are as true, reflecting different sides, different shades of the reality of the late 1930s. In the midst of a depression, with bourgeois democracy caving in to fascism and war on the rise, the illusions of capitalism were being smashed by the objective crisis of capitalism. It was this reality which made pragmatism such a bankrupt method. But the bankruptcy of capitalism did not mean that capitalism would fall of its own weight. What it did mean was that unless a revolutionary leadership came forward capitalism would seek a new equilibrium through the terribly destructive price of war and fascism only to go over into a new and deeper crisis at a later period—the period we are presently entering.

The pragmatists like Hook and Eastman saw only the surface results of processes they did not understand. The results were the growth of fascism and the coming of war. Accepting these as inevitable they not only did not resist these but would not struggle to lay the basis for changing the situation when the stream once again flowed in our direction. They joined the petty bourgeois stampede and lined up with their own bourgeoisie.

Later, when the bourgeoisie conducted its McCarthyite witchhunt in the 1950s against the Communist Party and other oppositionists, Sidney Hook emerges to explain from a "liberal" point of view that "heresy" is all good and fine but that the Communist Party is a "conspiracy." Today when the bourgeoisie seeks to whip up hysteria against students to keep radical ideas away from the working class, Sidney Hook again "explains." This time he shows that the cause of the repression is the students and even criticizes the repressive administrations for being "permissive."

Thus we see that in the late 1930s sections of intellectuals around the Trotskyist movement developed and deepened their hostility to dialectics and their defense of pragmatism and at the same time moved openly into the anti-Soviet bourgeois camp. As the impending storm of World War II cast its shadow over the

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movement to conduct the most ferocious struggle against bourgeois influences within the movement so that Marxism itself could be maintained and a basis laid for its flowering in a later more favorable period.

These difficult conditions, generally true for Europe as well as America, were particularly reinforced within the United States by its long anti-theoretical tradition expressed in the form of pragmatism. At the very moment of his arrival on the American continent in Mexico Trotsky expressed his deep concern with this problem. Here Novack describes his conversation with Trotsky:

TROTSKY

"January 10, 1937—the day after Trotsky and his wife Natalia had landed in Mexico. His party was on the troop-guarded private train sent by the Minister of Communications to ensure their safe conduct from Tampico to Mexico City. That sunny morning Shachtman and I sat with Trotsky in one of the compartments, bringing the exile up to date on what had happened during his enforced voyage from Norway.

"Our discussion glided in the subject of philosophy in which he was informed I had a special interest. We talked about the best ways of studying dialectical materialism, about Lenin's 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism' and the theoretical backwardness of American radicalism. Trotsky brought forward the name of Max Eastman who in various works had polemicized against dialectics as a worthless idealist hangover from the Hegelian heritage of Marxism.

"He became tense, agitated. 'Upon going back to the States,' he urged, 'you comrades must at once take up the struggle against Eastman's distortion and repudiation of dialectical materialism. There is nothing more important than this. Pragmatism, empiricism is the greatest curse of American thought. You must inoculate younger comrades against its infection.'"(2)

Max Eastman had at one time been

natural world. There the good old pragmatic method sufficed. In time Hook would lose any interest in revolution, algebraic or not, and deny not only dialectics in nature but Marxism as a whole.

This man who began trying to build a half way house with one philosophical foot in Marxism and the other in pragmatism began in the late 1930s an evolution openly over to the capitalist camp. Today he emerges as the chief professional apologist for Nixon's witchhunt against radical students.

Hook was joined in this defense of pragmatism by Eastman who stated in 1938 about Marxism:

"...An antiquated German-romantic faith in a universe where planets are revolving in 'ever more magnificent circles,' and things on them from bugs to bureaucracies are in a state of everlasting progress 'from the lower to the higher'—is anything but helpful. To transplant all this disguised Hegelian rationalistic animistic balderdash into our western world, which has been so largely characterized by practical and therefore sceptical, empirical good sense, is unqualifiedly bad. When Trotsky says that what we need in this country is 'more dogma,' he ought to be resisted as an obscurantist by every alert and free and educated mind in America—and he will be."(5)

What is particularly significant here is Eastman's almost patriotic tribute to American soil untarnished by European "Dogma." It is so strikingly similar to Novack's comment about an America which has "spontaneously spurned scholasticism." It stands in sharp contrast with Engels' assessment that America has spurned nothing but what interferes with business and that its anti-theoretical prejudices were but a cover for the maintenance of the narrowest of thinking combined with the most eclectic idealism.

UNDERMINED

Most important is that Eastman and Hook took up the cudgels for pragma-

world they lined up with their bourgeoisie.

PARTY

These trends in radical intellectual circles had to have their reflection within the revolutionary party itself. The party, as we have noted, is precisely where the central questions of mankind are posed the sharpest. The party must therefore be the sharpest arena of class struggle in the form of the struggle for the Marxist method and Marxist policies within the vanguard of the class.

Novack's discussion of empiricism, which leaves out any mention of the reflection of empiricism and pragmatism within the party, thus shows no understanding of the lessons of this whole period. Novack's "great polemic" is directed against openly anti-Marxist cold warrior Karl Popper and is thus an evasion of confronting how pragmatism penetrates the radical milieu and through the radical milieu the party itself.

Trotsky had no such illusions. As Novack himself faithfully records Trotsky upon landing on the North American Continent jumps from a discussion of the pragmatism of Eastman to the proposal that "You must inoculate younger comrades against its infection." He knew the pragmatism reflected in Eastman would find its most dangerous expression within the party itself unless a serious struggle was waged then and there in 1937 for dialectics in the party.

The emergence of a petty bourgeoisie opposition within the Socialist Workers Party dovetails with the development of pragmatism among the intellectuals on the periphery of the party. In fact, as Trotsky was to point out, the real origins of the minority lay in a philosophical bloc between Burnham and Shachtman in the course of the purported struggle against Eastman, Hook and Company.

ANTI-SOVIET

Now we must turn to the struggle within the Socialist Workers Party. The generally difficult international situation for the revolutionary movement suddenly became more bleak as Stalin signed a pact with Hitler and together with Hitler divided up Poland and launched his own invasion of Finland. This was really the beginning of World War II and immediately an anti-Soviet panic swept the liberal middle class. The middle class had no difficulty in maintaining a friendly attitude towards the Soviet Union during the period of the USSR's alliance with the allied powers. The middle class liberals not only swallowed the Moscow Trials but these particularly appealed to them. After all it was old Bolsheviks who were killed. Publications like the Nation became open apologists for this frame-up.

But now that the Soviet Union had formed a temporary alliance with the imperialist rival Germany, a hue and cry swept the liberal circles and anti-Sovietism rode high. It was under these circumstances that the petty bourgeoisie opposition arose within the SWP.

SHACHTMAN

On August 22, 1939 Stalin announced his pact with Hitler. On the very same day Shachtman put forward a motion on the SWP Political Committee:

"That the next meeting of the Political Committee begin with a discussion of our estimate of the Stalin-Hitler pact as related to our evaluation of the Soviet state and the perspectives for the future." (7)

Then on September 3 in marches James Burnham. Burnham, who was a professor of philosophy at NYU, had joined the party along with A. J. Muste a few years earlier. He had played an important literary role writing a number of pamphlets and articles for the party. In 1937 he joined with Carter putting forward the position that the Soviet Union was neither a workers' nor a capitalist state. He did not say what it was. (8) At this meeting of the Political Committee he put forward a motion that a full session of the National Committee meet to reconsider the question of the class nature of the Soviet Union.

The majority asked him to produce a document on the question and on September 5 he submitted a document "On the Character of the War" which stated: "It is impossible to regard the Soviet Union as a workers' state in any sense whatever... Soviet intervention (in the war) will be wholly subordinated to the general imperialist character of the conflict as a whole; and will be in no sense a defense of the remains of the Socialist economy." (9)

So the matter stood to September 30. At the meeting of the National Committee Burnham withdraws his resolution on the class nature of the Soviet state and in its

stead Max Shachtman comes forward with a joint platform resolution restricted to the "immediate answers to the concrete questions raised by the Hitler-Stalin pact." (10) Abern then enters the scene voting for both the "concrete" resolution of the Shachtman-Burnham minority and the resolution of the majority reaffirming the "basic analysis of the nature of the Soviet state and the role of Stalinism." (11) In this manner the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern minority was born.

DIRECTION

It is important to note the direction of movement of this faction. Burnham began on the more fundamental level of the class nature of the state but as his faction developed he moved from this level to the level of the "concrete facts." His movement was from a certain level of abstraction to a stand on concrete facts despite differences on this "abstract" level. As William James said, "The pragmatist is uncomfortable away from the facts."

The opposition actually held three positions on the class character of the Soviet state. Burnham maintained the state to be a new form of class rule "neither bourgeois nor workers." Abern held to Trotsky's position that it was a workers' state albeit degenerated. Shachtman maintained a neutrality on the question announcing he was "considering" the whole matter. But all three leaders and all their followers agreed on the "concrete issues" of the war, the impermissibility of defending the Soviet Union under conditions of the war. It was on this "concrete" basis combined with a hostility to the "Cannon regime" that their opposition was formed.

HIGHER

Trotsky's intervention in the struggle took the exact opposite course. He moved consciously, steadily to a higher and higher level of abstraction centering the discussion fundamentally on the question of the Marxist method itself. Thus his very first comment on the opposition in a letter to Cannon dated September 12, 1939, Trotsky announced his intention to take up the question of the nature of the Soviet state. As Burnham took his document on the nature of the Soviet state and put it back into his briefcase Trotsky took this question and forced it forward to the center of the discussion. (12)

As Burnham never developed any theory of the nature of the Soviet Union just maintaining it was not a workers' or a bourgeois state, Trotsky turned to an obscure Italian ex-Trotskyist by the name of Bruno R. who had actually originated the theory of "bureaucratic collectivism." Trotsky pointed out that to conclude that the Soviet bureaucracy was a new ruling class meant that for a whole epoch the working class could play no revolutionary role. Thus, he insisted, the theory which lay behind the concrete assessment of the minority—its refusal to defend the Soviet Union—actually made the entire program of revolutionary Marxism obsolete for a whole historical period.

Thus Trotsky proceeded from the concrete position of the minority to the abstract theory which that position expressed. He then developed the logic of that abstract theory and from that arrived at the real concrete policies that the minority was advocating—a complete abandonment of the revolutionary program of the working class. From the concrete to the abstract in order to arrive again at the concrete with a deeper understanding of reality.

But Trotsky did not leave the discussion even on that level. As the minority moved away from a discussion on the class nature of the Soviet Union seeking to hide behind agreement over concrete issues, Trotsky was forced to proceed deeper to the level of the Marxist method itself. At the same time it became necessary to establish the class material roots of the opposition. The two processes were inseparably linked.

PETTY-BOURGEOIS

Trotsky's very next major contribution was called "A Petty-Bourgeois Opposition in the Socialist Workers Party." In its very first paragraph the article states:

Like any petty-bourgeois group inside the socialist movement, the present opposition is characterized by the following features: a disdainful attitude toward theory and an inclination toward eclecticism; disrespect for the tradition of their own organization; anxiety for personal 'independence' at the expense of anxiety for objective truth; nervousness instead of consistency; readiness to jump from one position to another; lack of understanding of revolutionary centralism and hostility towards it; and finally, inclination to substitute clique ties and personal

relationships for party discipline." (13)

In the very next paragraph Trotsky raises the question of dialectics and American pragmatism. He traces the bloc of Shachtman, Burnham and Abern over concrete issues despite differences on the class question of the nature of the Soviet Union back to a bloc between Burnham and Shachtman a year earlier on the philosophical front. In an article entitled "Intellectuals in Retreat," which was aimed against Eastman and Hook, the authors Shachtman and Burnham, had said the following about dialectics:

"The two authors of the present article differ thoroughly on their estimate of the general theory of dialectical materialism, one of them accepting it and the other rejecting it... There is nothing anomalous in such a situation. Though theory is doubtless always in one way or another related to practice, the relation is not invariably direct or immediate; and as we have before had occasion to remark, human beings often act inconsistently. From the point of view of each of the authors there is in the other a certain such inconsistency between 'philosophic theory' and political practice, which might on some occasion lead to decisive concrete political disagreement. But it does not now, nor has anyone yet demonstrated that agreement or disagreement on the more abstract doctrines of dialectical materialism necessarily affects today's and tomorrow's concrete political issues—and political parties, programs and struggles are based on such concrete issues. We all may hope that as we go along or when there is more leisure, agreement may also be reached on the more abstract questions. Meanwhile there is fascism and war and unemployment." (14)

As Trotsky pointed out while one of the authors was an opponent of dialectics, the other did not consider the question relevant to "fascism and war and unemployment." Dialectics was not seen as central to the development of program and its implementation but rather as a question relegated to "leisure." In reality, just as the concrete issues of Poland and Finland reflected Burnham's position on the nature of the USSR, so Shachtman's attitude towards dialectics reflected Burnham's pragmatic hostility to abstraction and the objective materiality of logic.

METHOD

This pragmatic method is the method of the bourgeoisie as it deals with only surface phenomena and its expression within the party was an expression of bourgeois influence within the party. The struggle within the SWP was thus a class struggle against a section of the party prone to the influence of capitalism through petty bourgeois democratic circles.

In 1939 in their joint article Shachtman and Burnham were unable to show the connection between Eastman's position on philosophy and his political evolution. As Trotsky stated:

"By allying himself in this question with the anti-dialectician Burnham, Shachtman deprived himself of the possibility of showing why Eastman, Hook and many others began with a philosophical struggle against the dialectic but finished with a political struggle against the socialist revolution. That is, however, the essence of the question." (15)

Trotsky continues:

"The attitude of each of them toward the nature of the Soviet state reproduces point for point their attitude toward the dialectic.

"In both cases Burnham takes the leading role. This is not surprising; he possesses a method—pragmatism. Shachtman has no method. He adapts himself to Burnham. Without assuming complete responsibility for the anti-Marxian conceptions of Burnham, he defends his bloc of aggression against the Marxian conceptions with Burnham in the sphere of philosophy as well as in the sphere of sociology. In both cases Burnham appears as a pragmatist and Shachtman as an eclectic... Not more than a few months passed before Burnham and Shachtman themselves demonstrated that their attitude toward such an 'abstraction' as dialectical materialism found its precise manifestation in their attitude toward the Soviet state." (16)

From this Trotsky proceeded into a discussion of dialectics itself contrasting it to formal logic. His aim was not only to fight Shachtman and Company but to educate the majority as well. From then on this became the center of Trotsky's contributions to the discussion. These same points were expanded upon in "Open Letter to Burnham" (17) and "From Scratch to Gangrene." (18)

James Burnham was flushed out in the

open in particular in response to Trotsky's biting article "Open Letter to Burnham." In reply he wrote "Science and Style." Here the real backward and reactionary character of Burnham's thought was clearly expressed as if a cesspool finally reached the point of overflowing and coming to the surface. Let us first look at what Burnham has to say about logic, its relation to material reality and to the party:

"You, however, serve up to us only a stale re-hash of Engels. The latest scientist admitted to your pages is—Darwin; apart from Aristotle, the only 'logic worthy of attention' is that of—Hegel, the century-dead arch muddler of human thought. Comrade Trotsky, as we Americans ask: where have you been all these years?" (19)

Burnham then announces his adherence to the logic of Russell and Whitehead as well as C. I. Lewis. Russell's stand in defense of Hume's scepticism and on the non-materiality of logic were commented upon earlier. Burnham's explanation of logic is clearly based on this pragmatic and essentially idealist approach as we can see:

LOGIC

"You have an altogether incorrect idea of logic, Comrade Trotsky. You draw an analogy between a machine or instrument and logic: 'Just as a machine shop in a plant supplies instruments for all departments, so logic is indispensable for all spheres of human knowledge.' This analogy is false. For our politics, the analogy to a machine or instrument or tool is not logic or 'method,' but the party; the party, the actual party, is the instrument we use to achieve our political goals. Logic is indispensable to human knowledge only in this respect: that logic states the conditions for intelligible discourse, so that we 'violate' logic only at the risk of talking nonsense." (20)

Thus logic is seen existing only in the realm of idea as a statement of the proper ordering of idea and the purpose of exchanging idea. Nothing can be said as to why an "intelligible" statement is "intelligible." Logic is not seen reflecting basic movement of matter. The party is seen as a tool or instrument separated out from logic. Above all logic is not seen as essentially a question of the party itself, of the relationship between idea and the material world through the struggle to change that world.

ABSTRACTION

Beginning with this approach to logic let us see how Burnham deals with the question of the concrete and the abstract, appearance and essence.

"In the first place, it is a direct falsehood to say that I, or any other member of the opposition, rejects the Marxian theory of the state... However, the theory of the state is not a 'fundamental' of politics in precisely the same sense that I have explained. If it is fundamental, it is so from the point of view: that if it has been pretty clearly demonstrated that from no other hypothesis can we consistently reach such conclusions as we embodied in many of the planks of our basic program (rejection of parliamentary road, attitude toward imperialist war, dictatorship of the proletariat, etc.), whereas any other theory of the state leads to different (and wrong) conclusions about the necessary means for achieving socialism. Thus it would seem that acceptance of our basic program logically entails acceptance of the Marxian theory of the state, though this may not be clear at every stage to every person. Nevertheless, so far as politics goes, it is the program and the empirical consequences that follow from it which are fundamental in relation to the theory of the state, rather than the theory fundamental in relation to the program." (21)

And in conclusion:

"Comrade Trotsky, you have absorbed too much of Hegel, of his monolithic, his totalitarian, vision of a block universe in which every part is related to every other part, in which everything is relevant to everything else, where the destruction of a single grain of dust means the annihilation of the Whole. I am as opposed to totalitarianism in philosophy as in the state or in the party." (22)

The theory of the state is to Burnham rather than a deeper penetration of reality, rather than a more real reflection of the material world than a factual description of the functioning of a particular state, for Burnham it is only a "hypothesis." It is not necessarily true. In any event its truth lies in what flows from it in concrete consequences. With such an attitude it is easy to toss out theoretical conceptions developed out of the experience and thought of man over hundreds

of years—of bitter experiences—because at one particular point the consequences of such a conception are displeasing in their effects.

Proceeding with this method Burnham had no difficulty in throwing out the whole past of Marxist theory by developing a "hypothesis" that the USSR was a new class society which "better explained" the very bad consequences of Soviet policy in the period. It was, as we have noted, particularly the consequences of Soviet policy which went counter to the interests of the allied bourgeoisie which sent Burnham and Company to work in developing new "hypotheses."

RIGHT

Burnham, however, was willing, more than willing, really anxious, to toss out his latest hypothesis and carry the logic of his rejection of dialectics to its conclusion. Writing only a few months after he wrote "Science and Style" and a short period after his expulsion from the SWP, he stated:

"The faction fight in the Socialist Workers Party, its conclusion, and the recent formation of the Workers Party have been in my own case, the unavoidable occasion for the review of my own theoretical and political beliefs. This review has shown me that by no stretching of terminology can I any longer regard myself, or permit others to regard me, as a Marxist.

"I reject, as you know, the 'philosophy of Marxism,' dialectical materialism. I have never, it is true, accepted this philosophy. In the past I excused this discrepancy and compromised this belief with the idea that the philosophy wasn't 'important' and 'did not matter' so far as practice and politics were concerned. Experience, and further study and reflection, have convinced me that I was wrong and Trotsky—with so many others—right on this score; that dialectical materialism though scientifically meaningless, is psychologically and historically an integral part of Marxism, and does have its many and adverse effects upon practice and politics."(23)

Burnham soon proceeded far to the right and has ended up as a staff writer for the right wing publication National Review. Shachtman sought to maintain his eclectic attitude toward Marxism over a longer period picking and choosing what suited him from Trotsky and fitting it all together in a pragmatic fashion. His final political evolution was not substantially different from Burnham's. Today he has abandoned Trotskyism and stands on the extreme right wing of the Socialist Party, a supporter of the Vietnam War, opposed to even halting the bombing of the North, a supporter of the Humphrey wing of the Democratic Party, a supporter of Kennedy's invasion of Cuba.

The philosophical meaning of the 1940 fight was made all the clearer because Burnham was a conscious pragmatist. He was aware of philosophical questions and he openly defended the pragmatic method against dialectics. But the whole lesson of the 1940 fight would be missed if it were not recognized that while Burnham gave the theoretical lead to the opposition, there would have been no significant opposition if it had not been for Abern and Shachtman. Both these men maintained a belief in dialectics but actually proceeded in their political practice with the pragmatic method.

CANNON

The central struggle in 1940 was waged against the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern minority which represented a petty bourgeois grouping which had abandoned dialectical materialism for pragmatism. This does not mean that the proletarian section of the party and its leadership around Cannon were theoretically developed. Clearly it was Trotsky and not Cannon who had to take over the theoretical leadership of the struggle against the opposition. The majority was incapable of such a struggle by itself.

Trotsky noted this at the time when he said:

"It would be asinine to think that the workers' section of the party is perfect. The workers are only gradually reaching clear class consciousness. The trade unions always create a culture medium for opportunist deviations. Inevitably we will run up against this question in one of the next stages. More than once the party will have to remind its own trade unionists that a pedagogical adaptation to the more backward layers of the proletariat must not become transformed into a political adaptation to the conservative bureaucracy of the trade unions."(24)

Later, after the split with the Shachtmanites, Trotsky returns to the same question during an unsuccessful attempt to get the SWP to turn towards the Stalin-

ist workers. Hansen asks Trotsky point blank:

"I am wondering if Comrade Trotsky considers that our party is displaying a conservative tendency in the sense that we are adapting ourselves politically to the trade union bureaucracy."(25)

Trotsky answers frankly:

"To a certain degree I believe it is so... In observing the Northwest Organizer I have observed not the slightest change during a whole period. It remains a-political. This is a dangerous symptom. The complete neglect of work in relation to the Stalinist party is another dangerous symptom... It seems to me that a kind of passive adaptation to our trade union work can be recognized. There is not an immediate danger, but a serious warning indicating a change in direction is necessary. Many comrades are more interested in trade union work than in party work. More party cohesion is needed, more sharp maneuvering, a more serious systematic theoretical training; otherwise the trade unions can absorb our comrades."(26)

The challenge thus posed by the 1940 fight was whether or not the SWP would take up the struggle within itself for dialectical materialism. The death of Leon Trotsky so soon after the split left this heavy weight on the SWP leadership alone. It would not be enough to do, as Shachtman did, and maintain an orthodox belief in dialectics but abstain from a struggle for the development of dialectics in the course of the construction of the party itself. To rest upon the trade union section of the party would not in and of itself isolated from this theoretical struggle ensure the party from petty bourgeois infection. Trotsky in the very course of the 1940 fight pointed out that "trade unions always create a culture medium for opportunist deviations."

LECTURES

The task of the education of the party on dialectics fell primarily to George Novack. Novack proceeded to give a series of lectures on dialectics. These lectures have recently been republished as *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*. Before we turn to the content of these lectures it must be noted that to see the struggle for philosophy as a matter of lectures—and to leave it at that—is to miss the whole point. Lectures and classes are important and the struggle for theory in the party requires constant attention to such educational work. That the SWP once gave such lectures was a very positive side of the SWP in that period immediately after the 1940 split. That today lectures or classes on dialectics are rarely given in the SWP is a sign of a further retreat from dialectical materialism.

But the struggle for philosophy is the struggle for the party. This means there must be a constant day to day battle to bring consciousness of method into the actual life of the party itself. Each branch meeting must begin with theory, with a political assessment of the party's perspectives and strategy in the light of recent developments. A struggle must be waged to expose the methodological problems which hold the party back from realizing its program in the actual struggle of the class. This means a constant attempt to bring out the weaknesses, the negation so that in a struggle against these weaknesses development of the party can take place.

A lecture or a class is important in that it sharpens the philosophical tools available to the party membership. But if these tools are not used in the daily construction of the party the class or lecture becomes a cover for avoiding the real struggle for method. If dialectics is not used in the day to day "practical" party work, then some other method must be used. Dialectics thus becomes a pursuit for the "leisure" of the lecture while pragmatism guides the actual work of the party. This is the very same eclecticism which characterized Shachtman.

We have already noted a reflection of this eclecticism in Novack's approach towards empiricism and pragmatism in his book *Empiricism and Its Evolution*. Novack sees pragmatism as having a "good" and a "bad" side. He sees empiricism as not squarely opposed to the materialist dialectic. He underestimates the strength of idealist and spiritualistic thinking in America and, like Eastman, sees some exceptional value in America's hostility to theory. We can conclude from this that in the struggle against empiricism and pragmatism Novack pulls some critical punches.

DEWEY

If we turn to Novack's article "Liberal

Morality" on John Dewey published in the Merit edition of Trotsky's *Their Morals and Ours* we can see that we are not dealing with an isolated problem but with Novack's fundamental method. John Dewey attacked Trotsky's position on morality claiming that it was wrong to deduce from the class struggle the rights or wrongs of moral judgement. Novack writes:

"To deduction, the extraction of particular conclusions from general rules, Dewey counterposed the procedure of induction, the arriving at generalizations on the basis of repeated or duplicated instances.

"This antithesis is an unfounded one. Did Trotsky actually derive his means arbitrarily, as Dewey implied, through deductive processes alone? To be sure, Trotsky did explicitly evaluate means by reference to the laws and needs of the class struggle. These laws, however, were not freely created and imposed upon society by the Marxists. They had been drawn from a prior comprehensive study of social processes over many generations by strictly scientific methods. The laws of class struggle are first of all empirical generalizations developed from analysis of the facts presented by the history of civilization, including American history."(27) (Emphasis in original.)

Confronted with Dewey's fundamental challenge Novack rushes in—to assure the reader that Marxist laws are after all no more than inductively arrived at "empirical generalizations developed from analysis of the facts." He states that the law of the class struggle was actually developed by the inductive method which he describes as "generalizations on the basis of repeated or duplicated instances."

GENERALIZATIONS

Of course there are many other generalizations which can be drawn from their repeated or duplicated instances of factual occurrence through history. One can in this manner develop a law of religious struggle since much conflict—particularly from the birth of Christianity—has been carried out in the religious form. One can develop the law that "power corrupts" since corruption in high office has occurred repeatedly.

To state that Dewey's antithesis of deduction and induction is unfounded requires not an attempt to prove that Marxist law is arrived at inductively in the manner of the empiricist but rather to establish the real relationship between induction and deduction—their actual dialectical relationship. Here we must restate what we have stated before about abstraction. We proceed from fact, from appearance, to essence to an understanding of the essential causes of factual phenomena. However we do this dialectically, that is in such a manner as to reflect the real movement of all material and social existence. It is not a matter of noting the frequency of factual appearance but of penetrating appearance to bring out the causes of change in appearance through the struggle of opposing forces. Only proceeding in this manner can we come to an understanding that the class struggle is the absolute within the relative of class society and everything in class society is shaped by it—not religion, not power as an abstraction.

Of course on the next page Novack states that the class struggle is "more than an hypothesis about social development... It is a necessity, a certainty."(28) But he does not explain from the point of view of method why this is so. In any event the article we are quoting from was written in 1965. By 1970 Novack is far less certain about this question of hypotheses. He states that prior to 1917:

"The Communist Manifesto and further writings of the Marxists were still only working hypotheses which served to guide the most advanced elements of the proletarian cause but had yet to be realized."(29)

FORMAL

This eclectic ambiguity of Novack's goes all the way back to his early lectures on dialectics and formal logic. These lectures, of course, stand on a far higher level than his later writings for at least they concern themselves with dialectics rather than using the defense of materialism as a cover for a backhanded defense of empiricism. In these lectures Novack takes the very same ambiguous stand towards formal logic that he takes in his later writings toward empiricism. He states:

"These modern dialecticians did not look upon formal logic as worthless. Quite the contrary. They pointed out

that formal logic was not only a historically necessary method of thought but also quite indispensable even now for correct thinking. But in itself formal logic was clearly deficient. Its valid elements became a constituent part of dialectics. The relations between formal logic and dialectics were reversed. Whereas among the classical Greek philosophers the formal side of logic became predominant and the dialectical aspects preceded in importance, in the modern school dialectics occupies the front rank and the purely formal side of logic becomes subordinated to it."(30)

The very heart of formal logic is the law of identity. This law holds that "A" equals "A." This simply means that there exists distinct and different things in the world. In early Greek days this recognition of and categorizing of material reality was important for the primitive level of science at the time. All the rest of formal logic flows from, is deduced from, the law of identity.

Novack gives us an example to show us how wonderful and useful to the revolutionary party this formal law of identity is—and thus how formal logic plays its role, subordinated but still a role under dialectical materialism:

"Isn't it an enormous step forward in social and political understanding when a worker discovers on the one hand that a wageworker is a wageworker, and on the other hand that a capitalist is a capitalist? And that workers everywhere have common class interests that transcend all craft, national and racial boundaries? Thus a recognition of the truth contained in the law of identity is a necessary condition for becoming a revolutionary socialist."(31)

IDENTITY

Here we have restated in the form of the recognition of the law of identity the very same position on the class struggle which Novack put forward in his polemic with Dewey. Against Dewey he claims that the law of class struggle was an empirical generalization of the facts. Now he claims that class consciousness is the result, not of dialectical thinking, but of the application of the formal law of identity.

All the law of identity states is that "A" equals "A." With it one can identify a wageworker with a wageworker, a white man with a white man, and an American with an American, a tool and die maker with a tool and die maker. But one cannot determine by this law which identity is fundamental. To state that "the recognition of the truth contained in the law of identity is a necessary condition for becoming a revolutionary socialist" is actually a reflection on the philosophical level of what Trotsky criticized in the trade union work of the SWP—an adaptation to the trade union, i.e., bourgeois consciousness of the working class. Formal logic cannot bring workers beyond this level of consciousness. Only dialectical materialism can bring a revolutionary consciousness to the working class.

Trotsky, of course, precisely in his struggle with Shachtman subjected the formal law of identity to a withering criticism. Novack is not only aware of this but he quotes Trotsky at length precisely on this point. He writes:

"Wherever we encounter some really existing thing and examine its character, we find that A is never equal to A. Says Trotsky: '... If we observe these two letters under a lens, they are quite different from each other. But, one can object, the question is not of the size or the form of the letters, since they are only symbols for equal quantities, for instance, a pound of sugar. The objection is beside the point; in reality a pound of sugar is never equal to a pound of sugar—a more delicate scale always discloses a difference. Again one can object: but a pound of sugar is equal to itself "at any given moment."'

"Aside from the extremely dubious practical value of this 'axiom', it does not withstand theoretical criticism either. How should we really conceive the word 'moment?' If it is an infinitesimal interval of time, then a pound of sugar is subjected during the course of that 'moment' to inevitable changes. Or is the 'moment' a purely mathematical abstraction, that is, a zero of time? But everything exists in time;... time is consequently a fundamental element of existence. Thus the axiom "A is equal to A" signifies that a thing is equal to itself if it does not change, that is, if it does not exist."(32)

So Trotsky deals with what Novack calls "necessary and valuable instrument of thought." The law of identity is per-

fectly allright as long as there is no self-movement. But without self-movement there is no existence. Thus the law of identity is a mental construct which does not correctly express reality. It is, as are all mental phenomena including dreams and hallucinations, constructed out of reality. It is thus rooted in reality in that sense. But as a method of correctly expressing reality in our mind so that we may be able to change reality materially it is worse than useless. It distorts reality from a changing, moving interconnected whole into a permanent series of fixtures absolutely separated from each other, immobile, fixed—as changeless as the bourgeoisie would wish society to be.

OPPOSITES

There is identity in dialectics but it is not a formal identity. In dialectics the law of identity becomes the law of the unity or identity of opposites. That is any single entity is a battleground of opposing tendencies and through this struggle, this clash of opposites one entity can become another. It is so to speak to the extent that a battle is taking place for it to become other. An entity is really a relationship of opposing tendencies, a battleground of contradictions rather than a lifeless fixture.

There can be no more a compromise with formal logic as there can be with empiricism. Both are aspects of the method, the philosophy, the thinking habits of the ruling class. To give any progressive role today to these methods is a form of class compromise. Within the life of the party it reflects an approach which leaves dialectics to the leisure of the lecture while formal logic and empiricism allows the party to muddle through its day to day tasks in the trade unions and elsewhere. Gone is the sharp edge of struggle of method at the center of the party's very life.

PABLOISM

Under the conditions of the postwar prosperity in the advanced capitalist countries and the cold war, a new petty bourgeois opposition grew up inside the Fourth International. A section, led internationally by Michel Pablo, abandoned the basic strategy of the Transitional Program using the same pragmatic and impressionistic method as Shachtman—though this time adapting to Stalinism rather than rejecting defense of the Soviet Union.

James P. Cannon in his "Open Letter" said this about Pablo in 1953:

"These principles (those of the Transitional Program—T.W.) have been abandoned by Pablo. In place of emphasizing the danger of a new barbarism, he sees the drive towards socialism as 'irreversible'; yet he does not see socialism coming within our generation or generations to come. Instead he has advanced the concept of an 'engulfing' wave of revolution that gives birth to nothing but 'deformed,' that is, Stalin-type workers' states which are to last for 'centuries.' 'This reveals the utmost pessimism about the capacities of the working class, which is wholly in keeping with the ridicule he has lately voiced of the struggle to build independent revolutionary socialist parties.'"(33)

Burnham in 1940 developed a theory that the Soviet Union was a new class society and thus for the whole next epoch the working class would have no revolutionary role. Pablo in 1953 was talking of centuries of deformed workers' states which would be created by the Stalinists and not by the independent action of the working class led by Trotskyist parties. In both cases the conclusion is one of deep pessimism about the role of the working class and the abandonment of the strategy of constructing revolutionary parties. In both cases the method is one of impressionistically reacting to surface developments and projecting these for all time in the future ignoring the underlying essential developments which were creating conditions for a totally different surface situation as well. In both cases these tendencies reflected the retreat of the petty bourgeoisie and through the petty bourgeoisie the pressure of the capitalists themselves.

Cannon correctly concluded about the Pabloites:

"To sum up: The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally."(34)

So matters stood in 1953. It is true that the struggle with Pablo was a pale reflection of Trotsky's against Shachtman. It was not conducted on the question of method. It was quickly dropped

once the split had been consummated. Few internationally were educated in the process. But, a struggle had taken place and a separation from the petty bourgeois revisionists was concluded.

REUNIFICATION

However, the failure of the SWP to struggle for the Marxist method in the party itself, its failure to probe to its methodological roots, its split with Pablo in 1953, led the SWP right back to Pablo. Beginning in 1961 the SWP sought to reunify with the Pabloites on the grounds that the SWP and the Pabloites agreed on "concrete issues." In fact a discussion of 1953 and the principled causes of the original split was barred. All parties agreed in their concrete assessment of Cuba and on that ground alone unification would take place. The method of Shachtman became the method of Cannon and Dobbs. Just as Shachtman found himself in the camp of the liquidationist and anti-Marxist Burnham so the SWP today finds itself in the camp of the liquidationist Mandel with his anti-Marxist theories of "neo-capitalism" and the like.

HANSEN

However, the struggle for Trotskyism was taken up by the Socialist Labour League of England in particular. The SLL insisted that the discussion must center on the question of method. It was in reaction to this that Joseph Hansen of the SWP was forced to deal with question of philosophy in his major polemical article "Cuba—The Acid Test." Hansen wrote on empiricism in a section entitled "Should Marxists Go By The Facts?":

"I would submit that 'Lenin and others' did not bring from Hegel his opposition to empiricism on idealistic or religious grounds. On the other hand Marxism does share Hegel's position that vulgar empiricism is arbitrary, one-sided and undialectical. But empiricism 'systematically carried out?' This is the view that the 'genuine objective world,' the material world, takes primacy over thought and that a dialectical relationship exists between them. What is this if not dialectical materialism?"

"Slaughter's error is to establish an absolute gulf between empiricism and Marxism, leaving out what they have in common. In brief, he is guilty of rigid, mechanical thinking on this point."(35)

So here we have it all again. We cannot establish an "absolute gulf" between empiricism and Marxism. That would be mechanical thinking. We cannot be rigid. We must stress what empiricism and Marxism have in common. After all, Hansen states, what is dialectical materialism but empiricism systematically carried out?

In order to defend a political bloc made on the basis of expediency and over "concrete positions" Hansen is forced to revise Marxism as fundamentally as Shachtman and Burnham. Marxism is made the equivalent of consistent empiricism. Dialectics is destroyed in the process as effectively as with Burnham, even though not as openly.

DIALECTICS

Hansen, of course gives lip service to dialectics. He states that "a dialectical relationship exists" between thought and the material world. Good, but let us proceed a little further to see exactly what Hansen means by this "dialectical relationship":

"In the Marxist world outlook, dialectics does not serve an auxiliary role. It is central. To understand what this means and to appreciate its relevancy to the issue at hand—our attitude toward facts—we must go back to the origin of materialist dialectics, which is to be found in Marx's solution to the chief contradiction of Hegel's dialectics. This contradiction, as Slaughter will certainly agree, was its failure to provide self-criticism, for dialectical self-adjustment. The impasse was inevitable, since the Hegelian system excluded anything more fundamental than thought itself and there was thus nothing for thought to be adjusted against. The material world was viewed as a mere inert and passive 'other' created by the activity of thought. Research thus centered on the nature of thought, the 'nuclear energy' of the Hegelian system. Marx brought dialectics out of this blind alley by empirically taking matter as the fundamental source of motion. He thereby turned things around drastically and opened the way in principle for adjustment of his own theoretical system; that is, by checking it against the primary source of all movement, the material world. In place of thought spinning

on itself as in the Hegelian system, Marx found the way to a genuine 'feed back.' Through this revolution the dialectical method becomes self-consistent. It, too, is open to change. A major characteristic of materialist dialectics, consequently is supreme sensitivity to facts. Any work that fails in this respect will not stand up as an example of materialist dialectics. It is an apology or an academic exercise such as abounds in the Stalinist school of pseudodialectics."(36)

What we have here is a presentation of the pragmatic conception of the relation of thought to material reality and in the course of this an exposition of precisely the mechanistic thinking of the early vulgar materialists. Dialectics is likened to a computer with a "feed-back" system so that the method of IBM and the method of Marx become one.

FEED-BACK

We do not agree that the chief contradiction of Hegel's dialectics was that it did not allow for self-adjustment. It was, as Marx and Engels put it, that Hegel had to be turned upside down. Hegel certainly did not view the material world "as a mere inert and passive 'other'" but saw it in constant internal struggle and motion. But he did view it as "created by the activity of thought" rather than seeing thought as a reflection, an expression of the material world.

Marx did not salvage dialectics "by empirically taking matter as the fundamental source of motion." He was enough of a dialectician to recognize in such a formulation as the metaphysical and mechanistic nonsense of the empiricists. Matter is not the source of motion but is itself always in motion through its own internal contradictions. The separating out of matter and motion with one the source of the other is a reflection of an outlook which sees matter as an "inert and passive" thing-in-itself. By so doing it takes dialectics out of matter for dialectics is the expression of this self-movement of matter itself.

This separating out of matter and motion then finds an expression in Hansen's conception of the relation of the thought process, dialectical thinking, to the material world. Theory is seen as something external to the material world which is checked "against the primary source of all movement, the material world." What is not understood is that theory is an expression of that material world and that abstraction exists as an aspect, a part of material reality itself. Hansen sees theory as essentially unreal idea which is adjusted through checking against the factual appearance of the material world. He does not see "fact" as itself a level of abstraction nor does he see theoretical conceptions, such as the class nature of the state, as expressions of the essentials of the material world. The feedback process he describes becomes a matter of adjusting fundamental principles in the light of immediate appearance and opportunities for the party.

CUBA

With this method the SWP adapted to the Cuban leadership and on the basis of the appearance of Cuba at the time concluded that revolutionary parties guided by dialectical materialism were no longer necessary. "Blunted instruments" would work, at least in the colonial countries. As our philosopher George Novack wrote recently in an article actually billed as "an assessment of the role of empiricism and of conscious planning in revolutions":

"Few on either side of the contending class camps would dispute the judgment that Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, Castro and Guevara—to name only three of the top teams—exercised considerable influence upon the thought and action of their time and have all shaped the destiny of modern society. These men were pre-eminent practitioners of the science of revolution, proletarian-style."(37)

At risk of being classified among the few, we are forced to dispute exactly by what criteria the top team of Castro and Guevara get to be classified as practitioners preeminent or not of "the science of revolution, proletarian-style." These men are anti-Marxists who are completely hostile to the construction of conscious Marxist parties. Guevara cut his life in an adventure in guerrilla war completely separated from the working class. Castro's state is not only not working class but denies to the working class even the right to construct its own independent party.

FUTURE

Trotsky in the 1930s outlined the great difficulties facing the development of Marxist theory and a mass party based

on that theory in that period. He was well aware that in the United States the fight for theory was doubly difficult because of centuries-old anti-theoretical traditions which today are reinforced by the most powerful capitalist class in the world. He did not, however, draw from this, pessimistic conclusions about the future of America. Quite the opposite. He looked to America with its advanced technique and its highly educated working class for a new birth of Marxism under conditions of sharp economic crisis and the development of mass class struggles. He stated:

"Now dawns the new epoch of an independent class movement of the proletariat and at the same time of—genuine Marxism. In this, too, America will in a few jumps catch up with Europe and outdistance it. Progressive technique and a progressive social structure will pave their own way in the sphere of doctrine. The best theoreticians of Marxism will appear on American soil. Marx will become the mentor of the advanced American workers."(38)

This is the challenge which now lies before us. The movement of the American working class in the GE, postal and auto strikes, movement among the minority workers, the youth, the students, must find a conscious expression in the fight for and development of theory as part of the construction of the revolutionary party. This will not be an easy or a peaceful process. Like all development it must proceed through the negative—through the struggle against pragmatism which reasserts itself each day within the movement and strengthens the influence of the bourgeoisie in our midst.

The struggle against pragmatism will be just that—a struggle, a battle, a war. We can make no concessions in this war. No "on the one hands and on the other hands," no fence straddling, pulling of punches. The methodological struggle must be as ruthless as will be the class struggle itself. They are shades of the same struggle.

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Fascists, Maoists Open Attacks On French Trotskyist Youth

BY MELODY FARROW

In the most recent of a series of physical attacks against militants of the Alliance of Youth for Socialism in France (AJS) four of its members, all students, were hospitalized, two in serious condition following an attack Nov. 5 at Censier, a college in Paris.

The incident took place outside a meeting held by the May 27th Movement (Maoists) where the AJS and other groups had literature tables. Trying to provoke the members of AJS and also members of the Union of Communist students (UEC) someone in the hall tore down the student union banner and was pushed away by an AJS member.

At this point other AJS members were attacked and a fight began in earnest. Alain Maury, member of AJS, was pinned against the wall and beaten on the head until he fell to the ground unconscious where they continued to beat him. As others intervened to rescue him, another comrade was seriously beaten on the head and his right hand was crushed. The attackers were armed with bicycle chains, short clubs attached to the wrist and pieces of iron with jagged edges.

PROVOCATEURS

The AJS has stated that the attackers are not from the student movement but are provocateurs well known on the campus.

This incident occurred only a month after a similar attack in Grenoble. On Oct. 9 members of AJS were attacked by thugs, armed with knives and bicycle chains as they were distributing leaflets against the provocations. One girl's skull was crushed and another member was seriously hurt when he was hit in the face full force with a bottle. This was the same group which attacked an AJS club meeting last February injuring a student in the eye, the same group which three days later assaulted a student strike meeting where a comrade was wounded by a razor blade. Their attacks have been accompanied, as on Oct. 9, by slogans painted on the walls of the student union

building: "In Hitler's day, we would not have seen this" and "Down with UNEF" and "AJS-SS."

FASCIST

The leader of the fascist attacks in



Gerard Segura of AJS and . . .

Grenoble is an individual known and recognized as "Max" who has since disappeared. It is clear that "Max" and others like him are professional provocateurs who operate with the blessings of the police and the government and are paid for their services. These individuals and their followers have tried to link themselves to anarchist or revolutionary groups by declaring that they too are for "revolution."

It is no surprise that the French government has just passed judgement on the case of Jean Pierre Speller, also a member of AJS who lost his eye in an attack in April 1969 during the campaign around DeGaulle's referendum. The government has declared that while Speller indeed was attacked it is not possible to identify those responsible, despite the fact that the



Banner of UNEF, the student union, protests fascist attacks on French students.

AJS was able to expose Kasperit, a minister in DeGaulle's cabinet and his son as the leaders of the attack.

These attacks must be fought by the students and the entire working class and its organizations. As Informations Ouvrieres, organ of the Workers Alliance Committees, states:

"The struggle of the students for their right to education, for political liberties, against destruction of the university has always been understood as a part of the workers' struggle against the plans of

the French people all the freedoms they have conquered and won."

It must be noted that the Maoists, publishers of Cause of the People and the Pabloites (La Ligue Communiste) have lined up with the government in its attacks.

The Maoists have protected the attackers and say that the so-called Max is only a misguided youth. They even claim that the girl whose skull was crushed in Grenoble was hit by another AJS member while they were both beating up the aggressors. As we have seen in the United States, the Maoists place their hatred of Trotskyism before their hatred of the fascists. The Ligue Communiste although they were present at the attack at Censier, stood by and did not intervene but at the end wanted to participate in a debate on the attack with the fascist gangs! They have since put out a leaflet saying: "We cannot tolerate a group which organizes a witchhunt, organizes commandos and makes its own justice." In short, when the AJS is attacked instead of defending themselves they should debate with their enemies!

CAMPAIGN

The Workers League will not join the chorus of those who in their fear of repression line up with the government against those under attack. Those organizations who attack the AJS in France today will hand over the working class tomorrow to the ruling class. We welcome the massive campaign that has been opened up by the AJS and the Trotskyist Organization to bring the attackers to justice, to mobilize the widest possible support in the labor movement to fight the repression.



Alain Maury were injured by Maoists.

the bourgeoisie and its state. They (the government) know that political democracy is incompatible with the necessity to reduce the working class to submission in order to create a police climate. The repeated blows against the right to organize and of free expression are still only great preparatory maneuvers for the war they will wage to take away from

Specter Of Collapse Haunts Wall St.

Goodbody and Company, the fifth largest concern, was taken over by Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith. This move towards monopoly was approved by the Justice Department under the "failing firm doctrine." Anti-trust regulations were conveniently and simply set aside, as capitalism itself became threatened. The head of the exchange said later that if this had not occurred "we would have had a panic the likes of which we have never seen."

DISASTER

The Exchange has refused to intervene to protect the customers of three other collapsing firms, Charles G. Plohn & Co., First Devonshire Corp., and Robinson & Co. The Special Trust Fund of \$55 million to protect failing firms is already overcommitted.

Following the collapse of Goodbody, a new disaster appears to be in the wind. F.I. duPont, Gloro Forgan & Co. one of the three or four largest houses on the Street has been forced to borrow \$15 million from a group headed by a Texas millionaire in order to alleviate its capital shortage problems.

Investors themselves in the last few months have set up picket lines in front of the Exchange in protest over the insecurity of their holdings. One big broker who has been forced out has opened up a pretzel stand. Newsweek quotes him as saying: "The 15-cent pretzel of today is comparable to the 5-cent apple of the Depression. . . Two years ago I was sitting in the King's Club at St. Moritz for the weekend. Now I'm opening a pretzel stand in Philadelphia."

Another sign of the severe crisis on Wall Street as in the 1930s has been the wave of scandals as the supposedly respectable, staid Exchange is revealed as a den of thieves. One of the biggest scandals surrounds the bankrupt Penn-Central. Some \$21 million of the assets of this giant corporation were invested in Executive Jet Aviation. The head of this firm, retired Air Force Gen. Lassiter is charged with having spent close to \$900,000 of this on his girl friends!

While some would like to see the crisis as having roots in "mismanagement" this

is only a sign of the crisis not its roots. The roots in fact lie in the decaying capitalist system. The plunge in the market that began in 1969 reflected the squeeze on profits. During the boom vast speculative fortunes were built through continuous borrowing on the basis of a steady growth in profits. The decline in profits and the sharp rise in interest rates quickly brought companies crashing down.

LOSSES

Underlying the crisis on Wall Street today are the tremendous losses being suffered by giant companies in steel, rail, auto and the aerospace industries. Unemployment is up to 6%. There are close to 250 bankruptcies a week and the number of mergers increased in 1969 16%.

Two weeks ago Robert Haak, President of the Exchange, proposed a change in the structure of the Exchange in existence since 1792. Haak suggested that the practice of charging fixed minimum commission rates for stock transactions be replaced with rates competitively set or negotiated by individual firms. What this means is that the smaller firms would be pushed out and like the Goodbody takeover would represent a growing tendency towards monopoly.

But the crisis on the Stock Exchange only shows the inevitability of collapse.

CORRECTION

In the November 16 issue of the Bulletin, we stated that the BRAC negotiators with Northwest were International President C. L. Dennis and System Board General Chairman Jack Bacon. These negotiations produced the offer rejected overwhelmingly on November 9.

This was not correct. Dennis was the only union representative present at these negotiations. Bacon and every other member of the System Board, as well as the local lodge presidents, were frozen out of these negotiations by Dennis, who then called them all to Chicago the weekend before the vote and tried to get them all to sell that offer. This they refused to do, and this was a major reason for the offer's rejection.



They no longer will trust the trusts.

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The spectre of 1929 is haunting Wall Street. Behind the panic that has struck the market place of world capitalism is the real threat that the whole system could come tumbling down at any moment.

Newsweek magazine of Nov. 30 put it this way: "Nobody expects catastrophe but that is only because the stakes are so awesomely high that nobody can imagine failing to solve the problems."

The "perpetual crisis," as the head of the New York Stock Exchange himself terms it, the tremendous and prolonged decline in stock market values which began in early 1969 has brought down one brokerage firm after another. Over 115 brokerage houses have collapsed or been swallowed up in the unprecedented wave of mergers.

All the patching up operations cannot stop this movement.

The capitalist class has only limited control over its timing. What the capitalists and the government are doing now is arming and preparing for the head-on confrontation with the working class to drive it into poverty and save their shirts and their profits.

The movement of the working class today, the crisis of the capitalist system poses the necessity of expropriating these thieves and building a socialist society.

JAPANESE FASCIST MEETS A FITTING END

BY MARTY JONAS

On November 25, Yukio Mishima, Japan's best-known novelist killed himself in ritual hara-kiri fashion in the Eastern Self-Defense Force Headquarters at Ichigaya. Several minutes earlier, he had harangued thousands of troops about the need for a military dictatorship in Japan. Mishima, at his death, was the head of an army of eighty brownshirts known as the Shield Society.

Mishima's desperate act was intended as a rallying cry for all the right wing forces in Japan.

It underlines sharply the crisis of the Japanese bourgeoisie. In order to be able to hold its own in the trade war with the U.S. the Japanese ruling class must be able to keep down its working class. The rising militancy of the workers is driving it to consider desperate and harsh methods. The water hoses and clubs being used daily on Japanese students are being readied for the working class.

USEFUL

In such a situation, fascist zealots such as Mishima are goaded on, their private armies being financed by the bourgeoisie. These right wing forces will more and more prove a useful part of the capitalists' plans for crushing the working class. These plans undoubtedly include, as did Mishima's, a military coup on the style of Japan in 1936 or present-day Greece.

The Theoretical Roots Of Crisis Of Revisionism

(Below we print the Introduction to the new edition of "Revisionists in Crisis" by Tim Wohlforth.)

Early in 1969 there took place an international conference of the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." This body, which claims the name Trotskyist, is in fact a product of groups which have abandoned the program of Trotskyism and the building of revolutionary parties. Originating from the group following Michel Pablo in the 1953 split in the Fourth International, they have been supported since 1963 by the Socialist Workers Party.

This pamphlet analyzes the documents of this conference and the struggle which took place there. It originally appeared as a series of articles in the summer of 1969 in the Bulletin, organ of the Workers League and the Newsletter, forerunner of the daily Workers Press and organ of the Socialist Labour League in England.

This discussion is even more pertinent now than when it was originally published over a year ago. Nothing has been resolved within the United Secretariat in the interim. Moreover the objective developments since that time have of necessity deepened the internal crisis within the United Secretariat and within the SWP itself.

TROTSKY AND SHACHTMAN

This fall marks the 30th year since the death of Leon Trotsky at the hands of Stalin's agent. What is called for at this time is a struggle to understand Trotsky's contributions to the Marxist movement and to learn from his struggle how we can best carry forward the struggle for the socialist revolution today. As Trotsky himself wrote in his introduction to *Revolution Betrayed*: "We shall dwell upon the past only so far as that helps us to see the future."

Trotsky's last great struggle was the fight inside the Socialist Workers Party against the opposition tendency led by Shachtman, Burnham and Abern. It was a fight within the American movement and it was a fight which centered on the question of dialectics and American pragmatism. It is this fight more than any other which lays the basis for the Trotskyist movement particularly in the United States. We shall of necessity dwell on this struggle over and over again precisely in order to be able to prepare the future.

In 1940 the discussion moved in two opposite directions. Burnham began his opposition on the question of the nature of the Soviet state and then proceeded to retreat from this level to a bloc with Shachtman and Abern on the "concrete issues" of the party's attitude toward Finland, Poland and the Soviet Union's invasion of these countries. Trotsky on the other hand began by probing the question of the Soviet state to its depths and showing that with the position of Burnham the whole Transitional Program and perspective of working class revolution itself must be abandoned. From this he proceeded to the philosophical and methodological roots of the opposition in their pragmatism. It was this pragmatic method which allowed the opposition to stand, not on fundamentals, but on a common attitude towards immediate appearance or "fact." This pragmatic method is the method also of the ruling class. With this method the opposition became a channel and funnel for

alien class influences into the party and they finally broke from the party under these class pressures.

The task facing the SWP after 1940 was to take up the struggle for dialectics within the party itself. A turn toward involvement in the trade union movement would not in and of itself insure the party from alien class influence. The trade unions are, as Trotsky pointed out, "a culture medium for opportunist deviations." And Trotsky was the most insistent on work in the unions and in the working class as a whole.

PABLO EMERGES

In the postwar period a new opposition developed within the Fourth International led by Michel Pablo. This tendency, like the Shachtman tendency before it, in a pragmatic way adapted to the temporary quiescence of the working class movement in the advanced countries at that time and abandoned the working class, the Transitional Program, the struggle for Marxist parties. The theoretical outlook of Pablo is analyzed in some detail in this pamphlet.

In 1953 James Cannon and the SWP broke "definitively," they said, with Pablo. Unlike Trotsky's struggle of 1940, Cannon in 1953 did not probe the dispute to its theoretical and methodological roots and in this way educate the party in dialectical materialism. (See *The Struggle for Marxism in the United States* by Tim Wohlforth.) He simply made an empirical break and left it at that.

THE NEW REVISIONISM

Beginning in 1961 the Socialist Workers Party moved once again toward unification politically (it was barred from direct affiliation by the Voorhis Act) with the Pabloites. The SWP based its proposals for unification on the grounds that there was common agreement on "concrete issues" with the Pabloites. Following in the pragmatic footsteps of Shachtman the SWP proposed that unity take place on this concrete basis and that above all no discussion take place on the theoretical and methodological basis of the original split in 1953.

Again the pattern of 1940 was repeated. The SWP moved away from questions of theory, of principle, of method while the Socialist Labour League, together with other sections of the International Committee and the minority in the SWP which was to become the Workers League, insisted that we must proceed from the concrete questions of agreement and disagreement to the level of theory, principle, method. In 1963 the unification was completed and the Unified Secretariat set up with SWP political backing. In 1964 our tendency was expelled from the SWP for protesting the first fruits of the unification, the entry into a bourgeois coalition government of the LSSP in Ceylon.

DISCUSSION AND CRISIS

In 1963 the Socialist Labour League proposed that a discussion proceed despite the depth of the differences so far revealed. This proposal for discussion was rejected. In 1969 a discussion erupted within the United Secretariat which touched on the very points in dispute in 1963. The discussion which was suppressed in 1963 exploded with new force within the Pabloite camp. Leaders of the Pabloites themselves are raising the charge of abandonment of Trotskyism and liquidationism by sections of their own international movement.

In the fall of this year the Socialist Labour League proposed that discussions take place between the Unified Secretariat and the International Committee. It even stated that it would be willing to confine criticism of the Unified Secretariat to internal discussion if necessary so that a real discussion proceed. The Unified Secretariat rejected this proposal. This fall the Workers League proposed to the SWP that joint meetings be held commemorating the death of Trotsky as a common blow against the Stalinists. The SWP refused. The Workers League then proceeded to hold very successful meetings across the country while the SWP did not hold even a single meeting of its own to mark the death of Leon Trotsky who had contributed so much to the foundation of the Fourth International and the SWP itself.

The discussion however proceeds. It can no more be suppressed now than the SWP leadership was able to suppress it in 1963. It proceeds under new circumstances. Each day the position of the International Committee is strengthened by the development of the class struggle itself. It is reinforced by the class weight of the great movement of the working class internationally. Each day the class struggle finds its reflection, no matter how distorted and muted, within the revisionist camp where it pulls apart and polarizes the party.

TO THE RIGHT

There are signs already of a very sharp development to the right of sections of the SWP itself. More and more whole sections of the SWP are openly embracing the bourgeoisie through the cover of "democracy." The struggle against the war is not seen in class terms and under the cover of a "single issue" a common movement is built including the liberal bourgeoisie. The women's question is seen as a democratic and sex question, not a class one and the SWP builds a common movement with the liberal bourgeois women like Betty Friedan. The black question is viewed the same way and a bourgeois black party is called for instead of a class labor party. The defense of victims of the class struggle is seen only as a civil liberties issue and again a bloc is formed with the liberals.

On the one side a turn away from the International Committee, a refusal to discuss with us, a refusal to hold joint meetings with us against the Stalinists. On the other side the development of close working relations with the liberals and through the liberals with the bourgeoisie itself. This is the objective class logic of the SWP. This direction, this movement is the direction, the movement of Shachtman in 1940. But today, unlike 1940, fresh class struggles are breaking out and fresh youth forces are coming forward. Under these conditions the SWP cannot peacefully slide into the camp of the bourgeoisie. A struggle must take place. It cannot be avoided.

We hope this pamphlet will in a small way be a theoretical contribution to this struggle. What is at stake in this struggle is Trotskyism itself here and internationally. Trotskyism is the party of socialist revolution; there is no other. Thus at stake is the future of mankind.

Mass Arrest Of Youth In New Haven

BY KLAUS REDGRAVE

NEW HAVEN—Recently 70 arrest warrants were issued here against youth on drug charges stemming from evidence supplied by George Miller, a police agent who had been operating in this area for 9 months.

He mingled with young people, dressing in hippie clothes with yellow-tinted spectacles, winning trust and friendship, used drugs with them and finally betrayed them to the "authorities." He also took part in some political activities—meetings, demonstrations and such.

The mass arrest occurred just as the legal lynching of Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Erica Huggins was beginning in Superior Court here in New Haven.

COVER

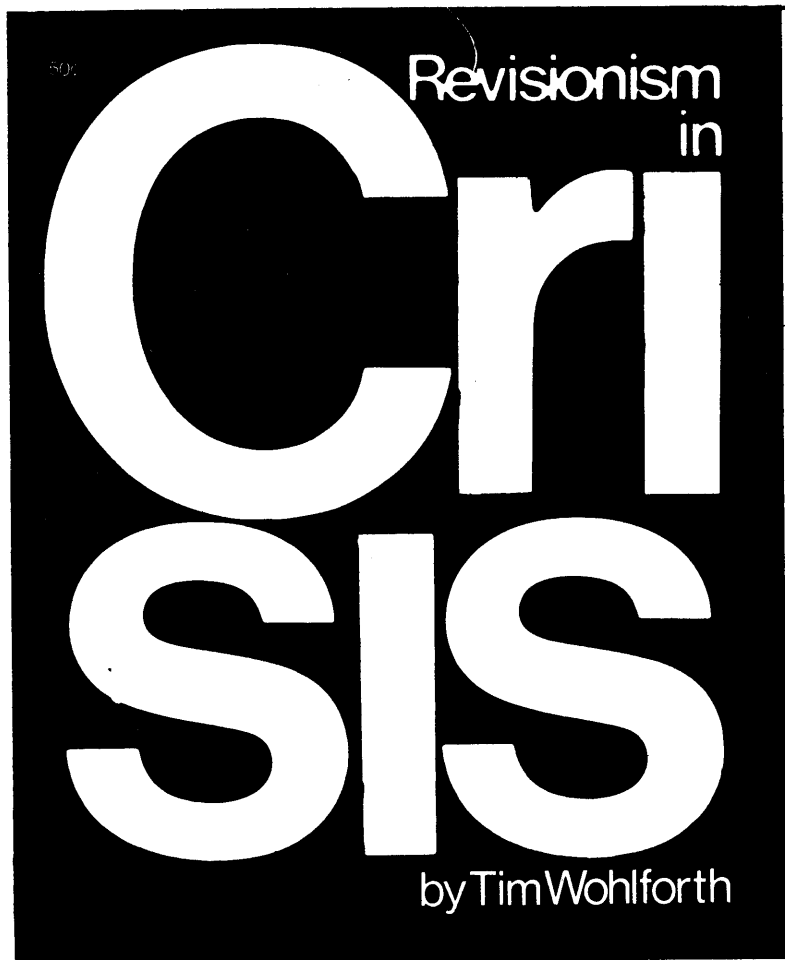
The charges on drugs are actually a cover for what is essentially a political

attack which has resulted in creating an even deeper atmosphere of repression for the trial of the Panthers. This familiar undercover operation is just a preview of what the rulers have in store for youth and the working class in the future.

Already, sections of youth are beginning to understand the revolutionary direction of the working class and are groping through the decaying labyrinth of reformism and middle class radicalism for a strategy.

What students and youth must do is struggle for Marxist theory and carry that struggle into the working class. They must spurn the dead-end and ultimately reactionary road of drugs which will leave them helpless in front of the capitalist onslaught. It is through the construction of a revolutionary youth movement that the struggle against capitalism and its agents can go forward.

Just Off The Press!



BLACK NATIONALISM & MARXIST THEORY



by Tim Wohlforth

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Soviet Secret Police Conspire In Fabrication of Khrushchev Memoirs

BY FRED MUELLER

The release of the so-called Khrushchev memoirs underscores the explosive crisis facing the Soviet bureaucracy.

Khrushchev has called the memoirs a "fabrication." The Soviet News Agency released a statement to this effect which mentioned the name of the former leader for the first time since his ouster from power in 1964.

From the available evidence it is nearly certain that these memoirs are at least in part fraudulent. Not only does this fact not minimize their importance, however, it points up even more strongly the sharpness of the crisis facing the Kremlin.

The obvious question, of course, is who is the author of the memoirs and why have they found their way to the bourgeois press in the West? Life magazine, which is publishing excerpts, refuses to disclose its source or sources of information. It is known, however, that none other than Victor Louis is deeply involved in the mystery. Louis is a Russian journalist working for a London newspaper. For the last few years he has come up on a number of occasions which appear to have involved the Soviet secret police.

LOUIS

Thus Louis tried to sell a version of the reminiscences of Stalin's daughter in the West before she had the opportunity to publish hers. In this case the intention of the bureaucracy was to blunt the impact of Svetlana Alliluyeva's anti-communist memoirs.

Just last year Louis became the first and only Soviet journalist to visit Taiwan, where he was given the red carpet treatment by the son of Chiang Kai-shek. In this case it seems clear that he was on a mission for superiors who were feeling out the possibility of warmer relations with the Chiang regime.

Now it is revealed that Louis met secretly in Copenhagen with several editors of Life magazine last summer. It is clear that once again he was acting on orders from above.

The first installment of the memoirs is riddled with elementary errors which cannot simply be attributed to forgetfulness on Khrushchev's part. He recalls family dinners with Stalin and his wife more than a year after she committed suicide. He is almost three years off on the date he gives for being named to the politburo. The memoirs add almost nothing new to the accounts of the Stalin era and Khrushchev's role.

SECRET POLICE

At least a section of the secret police and the bureaucracy appears to have leaked these fraudulent memoirs for the purpose

of clouding the fundamental issues at stake. If Khrushchev is actually working on memoirs, the bureaucracy may be seeking to destroy whatever impact they might have by spreading a version about which there will be endless speculation. Much more important, this move is directed against the growing Soviet opposition to the bureaucracy itself. It is the courageous dissidents, Grigorenko, Yakir, Solzhenitsyn and others whom the bureaucracy is after, and not Khrushchev himself.

Any manuscript from the Soviet opposition will now be the object of speculation as to its authenticity. The bureaucracy hopes to blunt the political struggle, to obscure all the real issues behind a smokescreen of intrigue and mystery. Even further, the use of these alleged memoirs in the West for the propaganda purposes of the capitalists fits right in with the aims of the bureaucracy.

FRAMEUP

Just as in the case of unauthorized publications and translations of works of real fighters against the bureaucracy like Solzhenitsyn, the bureaucracy first leaks material whose authenticity is questionable at best, and then seeks to use the fact that the bourgeoisie uses it against the opposition itself. The Khrushchev manuscript will undoubtedly be used in that way. This vicious technique is similar to many other frameup measures used by the bureaucracy in its 45 years of counter-revolutionary activity. The victims are turned into the criminals.

Whether these memoirs are entirely the work of the secret police or have a more genuine connection with Khrushchev himself, they contain some very revealing material. While they add nothing new to what has been said, the surfacing of this material at this time is of great significance.

"There are still some people who think that we have Stalin to thank for all of our progress, who quake before Stalin's dirty underdrawers and who stand at attention and salute them... If he (Stalin) were alive today, I would vote that he should be brought to trial and punished for his crimes... We have no choice but to rehabilitate all of Stalin's victims... Now they're starting to cover up again for the man guilty of all those murders... Honest, loyal Leninists, devoted to the cause of the Revolution—they were the first to go when Stalin imposed his arbitrary rule on the Party."

These are some of the statements in the manuscript. In however distorted a

fashion, these basic issues must now come out in the open. Nothing was resolved by Khrushchev's revelations in 1956. The bureaucracy is sitting on a powder keg and there must be an explosion.

But the secret police is using these kinds of criticisms for an extremely reactionary purpose and as a result not only try to discredit the genuine opposition but open up new doors for class collaboration with imperialism. Exactly who does Khrushchev hold up in a positive light against Stalin's errors in the next installment? Eisenhower and the imperialist powers of the United States and England!

The second installment restates the old charge of Joe McCarthy that the West actually gave something away in allowing the Soviet Army to enter Berlin. This is attributed by Khrushchev to Eisenhower's good will—as if Eisenhower was not acting under White House orders. In actuality the imperialists were forced to allow the Soviet Army to enter Berlin because revolutionary upheavals had seized all of Germany as well as most of Europe. It was either this or facing the threat of losing all of Europe.

COLLABORATION

Why this gratuitous statement? We can only conclude that the secret police is using these memoirs to soften up collaboration with the imperialists by holding up the World War II period in a favorable light. They are preparing for new deals between the Kremlin and the West to stem the tide of revolution in Europe.

Either this or we must conclude that



Victor Louis, the secret police's friend.

some very right wing white guard forces also had a finger in these "memoirs." In that case the secret police is not only working with Chiang Kai-shek but is able to conduct joint projects with imperialist agents among the Russian emigres as well.

FABRICATIONS

What the Khrushchev memoirs actually reveal is the opposite of what they are supposed to reveal. The fabrications in them, the hand of the secret police in their production, the willingness of the multi-millionaire Luce publishing empire to print such forgeries reveals that while Stalin is dead Stalinism continues to live in the USSR. All the techniques of the Moscow Trials can be seen in the dirty work behind this multi-million dollar publishing fraud. We say the Luce empire can take their memoirs and stuff it.

Shipping Bosses Reneged On Bonus

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Squabbles within the New York Shipping Association, bargaining unit for the shippers here, are laying the basis for a sharp attack by the shippers on the International Longshoremen's Association in the upcoming 1971 contract.

Containerization has led to a drop of eight million manhours worked by dockers in the port in the past year, a twenty percent drop in time worked. This has increased greatly the contributions the owners must make to the NYSA/ILA pension fund, which is guaranteed payment for forty million hours worked, no matter how many hours are actually worked. The shortfall in hours worked has also doubled the estimated cost of the ILA guaranteed annual income won in the last contract, and forced the cost of the container bonus up to \$1.73 a ton for the

owners.

United States Lines, Seatrain and Transamerican Trailer Transport have refused to pay the extra assessments, and have been ousted from the NYSA. Seatrain, like American Export Isbrandtsen Lines, actually reports an operating loss on their new container run across the North Atlantic.

SUING

The Shipping Association has voted to demand all companies pay the extra assessments needed to maintain ILA wages and guarantees, and is suing the three companies in court to force them to pay. However, it cannot force them to remain in the association.

The danger in this situation is that Gleason, Scotto, and other ILA leaders, who have been very reluctant to pay out any container bonus money at all, will use this sign of weakness of the employers as an excuse to whittle down some of the gains won in the last contract.

The guaranteed annual income must be protected and extended in the next contract with an escalator clause and \$1.65 an hour wage increase equal to that won by the Teamsters this spring. If the companies cannot pay they must be nationalized without compensation and put under workers' control. The ranks must not let Gleason and Scotto abandon contract gains with the excuse that "it was the best we could get." The ILA must go on record now for the preservation of the wage guarantee, the escalator clause, and a big wage increase.

Castro Readies New Attacks On Cuban Workers

scheme of Karl Marx," as Karl Marx's "scheme" was one of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

BONAPARTIST

But Castro, his own statements to the contrary, did not "transgress against the laws of history" in making his "revolution." In a world economy dominated by imperialism there can be no advance to socialism without the construction of a Marxist leadership that can consciously prepare and lead the working class to power. Outside of this there can only be the direct domination of imperialism, or a Bonapartist regime, however "left," of the colonial petty bourgeoisie which is precisely what the Castro regime represents.

It is precisely this failure of the Castro regime that is being reflected in the decisive turn to the right that has taken place in the months since the conclusion of the sugar harvest. Abroad Castro plugs for the Allende popular front in Chile and embraces the anti-working class Peruvian military junta. Domestically Castro's wild pre-harvest claims to Karol that "close to fifty percent of the population were true revolutionaries" and that there were many "new socialist men" in Cuba already, has been replaced by admonitions to the workers blaming them for the country's economic difficulties and demanding even more productivity be obtained from the working class!

More and more the mask provided by Castro's reforms will fall off as this Bonapartist seeks to solve his problems at the expense of the working class.

Castro Readies New Attacks On Cuban Workers

BY ED SMITH

New elections to more than 250,000 lower echelon posts in the Cuban Confederation of Labor, Cuba's only labor organization, are being held by the Castro regime. Viewed in the context of the regime's development, this operation must be viewed as one of the opening shots in big new attacks by Castro on the Cuban working class, in order to solve the extreme crisis that has gripped the Cuban economy since the failure of the "10 million ton" sugar harvest last July.

The whole economic policy of the Castro regime is in collapse. The importance of the harvest failure was not the exact tonnage produced, or whether or not the "honor of the revolution" was lost. The crucial point was made by Castro's Minister of Labor, Captain Jorge Risquet in a television speech on the failure of the campaign. He said that the actual income from the harvest was below the wages paid to the Cuban workers and the production cost of the sugar was as much as three times the world market price. At the same time output in both basic and consumer industries dropped drastically.

The Castroite "road to socialism," hailed enthusiastically by Stalinists, Pabloites, and petty bourgeois radicals everywhere has led to economic disaster and an intensification of the reactionary dependence on a one crop economy. This dependence will leave Cuba utterly at the mercy of the world imperialist market if the Soviet Union decides to cut its losses and stop subsidizing Cuba to the tune of hundreds of millions a year.

On top of this members of the regime like Risquet place the blame on the inefficiency and "passive resistance" of the working class and demand even greater efforts to raise productivity as the solution. A class analysis of the Castro regime shows that this can only take place in the form of attacks by the Castro regime on the working class.

CASTRO

We can make our point even clearer by referring to Castro himself. In the December issue of Ramparts magazine, under the heading "Castro on the Contradictions in Cuba," is an account by journalist K. S. Karol of an interview with Castro, apparently given before the cane harvest of the past year.

Castro remarks that his conquest of power in 1959 was the result of a revolt not a revolution. Says Karol:

"He (Castro) repeated that the working class was for the revolution, like everyone else, but was not a truly revolutionary class (sic!) and hence was unsuited to the role of midwife to a new society. In these circumstances, could anyone in his right mind really have handed over power to people whose only ambition was higher wages?"

"None of this fits in with the scheme of Karl Marx, I quite realize," says Castro. "But we transgressed against the laws of history by making our revolution in the first place. I suppose we shouldn't have made it?"

Here Castro really reveals himself and the class character of the Cuban Revolution and the Cuban state. It is quite true that "none of this fits in with the

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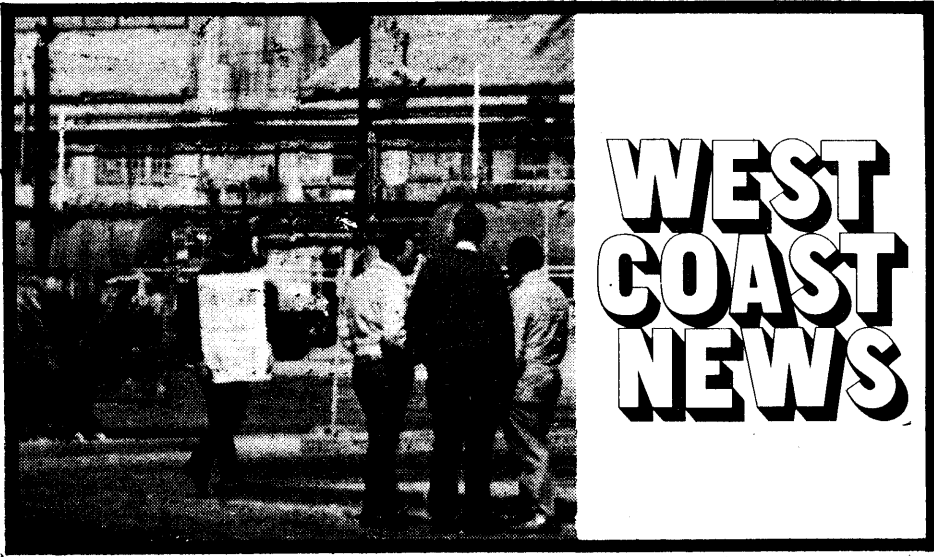
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County Offers San Mateo Workers Pay Cut, Speedup Instead Of Raise

BY A LOCAL 829 MEMBER

SAN MATEO—County workers here did not believe it. No pay raises. No cost of living increase. . . Instead, a pay cut. "How am I going to pay my rent!" a young clerical worker said as she read the leaflet announcing the emergency meeting of AFSCME Local 829.

"Already they have doubled my workload, won't hire new staff and now they want to cut my pay. I'd quit but with things so tight, I might not get another job."

San Mateo County was forced to sit down at the bargaining table with its employees for the first time in its history in November of this year. The County has shown their true intentions over the past several months since AFSCME Local 829 has filed for elections to determine which organizations County employees want to represent them. While Local 829 presented well over 30% of signed cards authorizing the union to be their representative, the County has stalled on the elections their own policy statement regulations require. They have openly encouraged fractionalization of representative groups which again their own policy statement demands. One of their negotiators stated at a public meeting that it may be more than a year before elections are held and representatives recognized as the bargaining agents. With the mask of benign paternalism of the County management off, the active rank and file demanded that the union act.

REFUSED

The membership demanded that if the County refused to either set the dates for

the elections or recognize the union as the bargaining agent, union representatives would walk out of management's business as usual salary hearings. County management refused and County workers' representatives of Local 829 walked out.

The other craft type professional organizations and management oriented employee association remained to beg crumbs from the table as usual.

The Union Local 829 then went into court demanding that County management follow their own laws.

In a rare decision, the court issued an injunction against the County from continuing their phoney salary hearings and issued a directive ordering the County to "meet and confer with the union." The County management then proceeded to go through the motions with Local 829 while then meeting with every splinter union they could scrape up to try to split up the strength of the workers. . . knowing to divide is to conquer.

In a final meeting, the County management negotiating team offered an across the board pay cut of one quarter, greatly reduced disability benefits and no new fringe benefits completed their offer. They said, "Take it or leave it!" "If your members don't like it we have plenty of people out of work to take their places. If they can't live on their wages, they can always get welfare supplements."

The union membership is now organizing to combat this all out attack. They know that if the County succeeds in this tactic that next the County will begin laying off people in each department and increasing workloads.

Fremont Caucus Urges Ford Ranks To Vote No

BY A LOCAL 1364 MEMBER

In response to the fight by Local 1364 United Action Caucus against the sell out on the national agreement which was conducted at the ratification meeting on Nov. 20, 1970, that produced an overwhelming no vote, the local leaders have been discredited and cut off completely from rank and file support.

The strike now is continuing over local issues. Not only did they feel ostracized from the ranks, but regional director, Paul Shrader, has abandoned our local vindictively as not worth giving service to, in retaliation for our rebelliousness. Added to this, local management refuses to budge on local grievances, demands and agreements, in hopes that they can strike further blows at the militancy of our group of workers.

This is not just a local phenomena. All seven of the General Motors assembly divisions are faced with the same concerted gangup from management and the abandonment and betrayal from the international union leadership in what could be described as the worst, treacherous betrayal in the UAW's history.

DESPERATION

Out of desperation our local leadership has turned to appealing for support from our local membership to avoid a defeat on local issues. They have seized upon the recommendations of the UAC to strengthen the strike by having a mass picket line in front of the plant, and stopping management from entering. If this does not work, seize and occupy the plant so as to impress on them our determination to conclude the strike with a certain measure of pride and human dignity as well as resolving the local issues.

In line with this, a call was issued for a mass meeting and picket line on Nov. 29, 1970 in which 1,000 auto workers and their families participated in a mass march around this massive GM plant in Fremont in a show of strength and class solidarity. This will be followed by more

drastic action if management refuses to move.

FORD

The UAC has issued a call to the Ford workers at Local 1560 in Malpides to overturn this contract by voting it down and to prepare to strike to defeat this betrayal in auto. A UAC leaflet is to be distributed at this plant in the form of an open letter to explain why we voted down this national agreement and are still on strike.

The UAC is also inviting these workers to a joint UAC meeting to help them prepare a caucus that can give a lead in their strike and discuss why they must consider themselves as a fresh troop reinforcement to overturn this contract and establish a better pattern in auto.

We in GM were bled dry in our fighting militancy by a sellout leadership in nine weeks of this strike just like the Ford workers were in 1967. The Reuther-Woodcock one-at-a-time strike strategy is completely bankrupt. The ranks know this. What is needed is a rank and file national caucus to give a lead in this struggle.

CAUCUS

Every local and national leader who betrayed must be defeated in the next election.

What must become the primary task of a national caucus is the fight to sharpen the class struggle divisions that now exist within the trade union movement leading to a break from capitalist politics and the formation of an independent party of labor based on the revitalized trade union movement.

Bookbinders Local Rejects Offer But Leaders Refuse To Strike

BY A LOCAL 3 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—At a special wage-scale meeting on Nov. 21 the two thousand members of Bookbinders Local 3 unanimously rejected the worst contract proposal offered to them in years.

The membership was in total agreement with the Wage-Scale Committee's recommendation to reject the proposal thrown up by the Printing Industries of Northern California and the Associated Printing Industries, the San Francisco and Oakland

employers. The major attacks on bindery workers in the proposal were the following: an offer for less than parity with the pressman and typographical sections; a reduction of one year in the five year apprentice term for journeymen and no reduction for women (a blatant attempt to divide the men and women workers which failed totally); continuation of a three year contract when present area contracts are only 18 months.

EXPOSED

But the offer which left the companies exposed in the eyes of every single bindery worker was the offer to have the unskilled specialty workers do all of the skilled jobs of a journeywoman at a much lower wage. This would mean the end of a long history of skilled work in the bindery trade and of course the immediate halt to hiring of apprentices. This class attack on the part of the owners was recognized by the journeymen also as a clear warning that in the next contract they would risk their jobs if this proposal slipped through.

While angrily discussing the proposal, demands were put forth on the floor for the type of contract the ranks want and how to take the fight forward. At this point the union bureaucrats were forced to just listen and attempt to keep "order." There were rank and file demands for retroactive pay on overtime (the contract expired March 2, 1970); for a better pension plan; for a \$10 per week welfare retroactive. There were calls to kick out the arbitration agreement in the contract and to fight for a cost-of-living clause. There was a demand for an equal percentage increase across the board and upgrading of the apprentice program to protect the trade.

STRIKE

The members discussed the probable necessity of a strike. One worker called for the formation of a strike committee. The leadership claimed that the strike fund will last only for two weeks and that the union should head for arbitration. Bindery workers know that "impartial" arbitration is suicidal.

The only way to win a decent contract is to reject arbitration and prepare for a strike.

PL-SDS MEMBERS ARRESTED AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

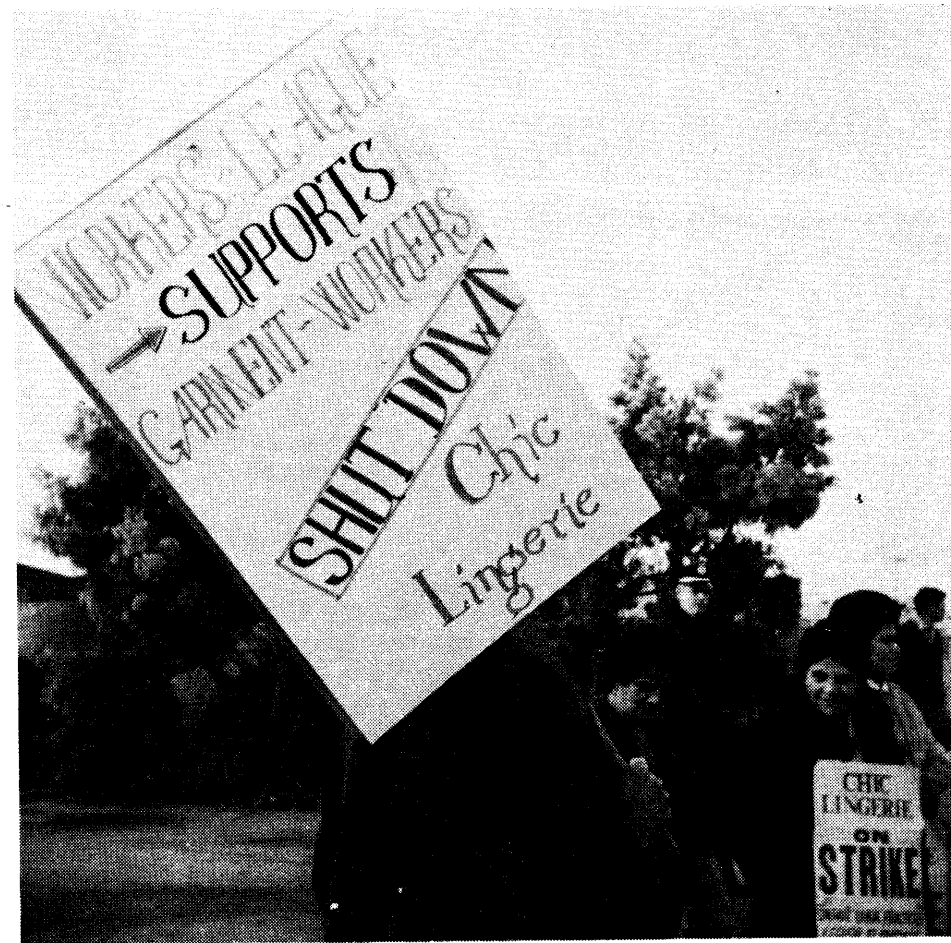
On November 16 the PL-SDS chapter at San Francisco State College held a demonstration and sit-in at the office of the Phoenix, the college newspaper. This action resulted in the suspension of 23 students, seven of whom were subsequently arrested on charges of failure to disperse, conspiracy to incite a riot, and trespassing on state property.

The demonstration called for the Phoenix to publish a retraction of recent articles. One of these reports characterized all workers as reactionary hard-hats who wanted no student support in their demands for higher wages and better working conditions.

The Phoenix magazine has often been called the "mouthpiece of the administration" and rightly so. The magazine was formed when the now defunct student newspaper, the Daily Gator, came out in total support of the 1968 strike, and the administration needed something that supported Hayakawa.

These attacks against SDS members must be seen as an attack against all students and the working class.

The Workers League has called for the formation of a united defense of these students for immediate reinstatement in the college and that all charges be dropped by the state and administration.



Workers League joins picket line of ILGWU at Chic Lingerie in Los Angeles. The workers, mainly Chicano women, have demanded two weeks' paid holidays, a raise from a \$1.65 to \$2.50 per hour base pay and a union shop. Union leadership has already lowered these minimal demands indicating need to fight it as well as company. The Workers League is fighting for original demands and calling for support action not only from students but also from organized labor throughout the area.